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17 October 1985

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

MARXISTS CHART NEW COURSE

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English 3rd Qtr 1985 pp 101-110

[Article by Semou Pathe Gueye, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Independence and Labour of Senegal (P.I.T. Senegal)]

[Text]

One of the main characteristics of the present political situation in Africa seems to us to be a definite growth in the influence of Marxism-Leninism over large sections of the population of the continent. Of course, such a process does not take place in a linear manner, with the same rhythm and extent everywhere. On the contrary, it takes various forms and unequal dimensions according to the different countries and their concrete socio-historic situations. One of its most striking manifestations has been the existence and growth of states which, in the aftermath of their victory over colonialism, have taken the road of radical socio-political transformation under the banner of a socialist orientation. Thus there are already tens of millions of men and women in Angola, Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, Guiné Bissau and Mozambique who have become involved in such a process. Elsewhere, where neo-colonialism continues to oppress peoples, the progress of Marxism-Leninism is shown by the appearance in increasing numbers of political organisations which owe to it their progressive growth, the revival of their activity and their increasing importance among the patriotic and democratic forces against imperialism. It is now difficult to find a single country in our continent in which one or more of such groups do not exist.

This varied process is the reflection of the crisis of imperialism and neo-colonialism, an indication of the radicalisation of the national liberation movement and the growing maturity of the political consciousness of the mass of the people.

In this context, one can only consider it an event of wide significance that the first Marxist-Leninist party in tropical Africa has met in Congress to take account, critically and self-critically, of a quarter of a century of activity, to measure its successes and failures in the building of a true revolutionary vanguard, and finally to say how it intends to achieve power and what it will do with that power. Undoubtedly, the lessons drawn from our experience, modest though they may be, and the perspectives which we have obtained for our present and future struggle, will interest not only Senegalese Marxists, but also the whole revolutionary movement of the continent. It is in the

strength of this conviction and conscious of the heavy responsibility which lies upon us that we have made a point of getting to the heart of things, without concealing any inadequacy, any mistake or any fault which might hinder our progress on the road to victory. We have good reason to believe that against this background, the second legal Congress of our Party, held at Dakar from 28 to 30 September, 1984, did not fail to come up to expectation.

The second legal Congress of the P.I.T. Senegal brought together nearly one thousand delegates duly mandated by basic Party structures, together with observers. Its importance was enhanced by the presence of representatives of various Senegalese political movements, trade union personalities of our country and also by large delegations from fraternal parties — the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and other countries. It was greeted by dozens of messages from every corner of the world.

Several months of discussions and collective reflection took place within the Party. Thousands of copies of preparatory documents were sent to all the political parties of our country to seek their suggestions and criticisms (which we undertook to publish in our press). Hundreds of meetings were held in various forms throughout the country and in all the national languages to discuss our analyses and positions. Never before in Senegal has any political party proceeded in such a democratic manner to have its activity, its orientation and its programme judged by public opinion. We had to do this and we have not regretted it. At a time when every encounter with the "socialist" party in power tends to degenerate into heated and even bloody exchanges, we believe that we have given fresh proof of the superiority of the rules and principles of Leninism over the empty boasts of the bourgeoisie wanting to give lessons in "democracy".

Our procedure has also enabled us to profit considerably from the views of our compatriots so as to improve the quality of our analysis. This is why we think that the conclusions at which we have arrived at our Congress will make a really important contribution to the success of the revolutionary struggle in Senegal. Moreover, it was in order to allow our Party to play its full part in this struggle that we were obliged to re-examine the whole of our activity without complacency. The conclusion which we have drawn from this re-examination is that, while we have achievements and successes of which we can legitimately be proud, we have also made mistakes and been guilty of faults which have greatly retarded our progress.

### **Our Achievements**

Let us first see what we can count by way of achievements. The historic manifesto, published in 1957 at the time of the foundation of the African Independence Party, and the Programme adopted in 1962 were the first documents of their kind in West Africa. They constituted in their time an important contribution by Senegalese Marxists to the creative application of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin under the conditions of our continent.

The historical importance of the foundation of the African Independence Party resides for Senegalese communists in the fact that it gave the working masses of our country a precious instrument with which to guide their

national and social liberation struggle. Under the aegis of Marxism-Leninism, by inscribing on the same banner the ideals of national independence and of socialism, Senegalese communists have written glorious pages in the contemporary history of our country. At a time when certain men who claim to lead the patriotic struggle try to present us as "foreign agents", the following fact needs to be underlined: it was we, the communists, who were the first to call upon our people to shake off the yoke of French colonialism. At a time when the slogan "Independence now" was considered utopian by many who today present themselves as champions of nationalism, it was our Party which called upon our people to mobilise and organise for the reconquest of their freedom and dignity. This is an objective fact which places us indisputably in the line of defenders of the glorious African tradition of struggle for freedom and dignity. This is the secret of the immense prestige which has become attached to the name of our Party.

We have also succeeded, in spite of the winds and tides of neo-colonialist repression, directed primarily against us, in ensuring the continuity of communist activity in our country — a feature now recognised as irreversibly forming part of the political realities of Senegal. It is for these reasons among others that we can say that our experience has not been altogether negative, even though we are still far from having led our people to victory.

The fact remains that from the beginning, our action has suffered from serious theoretical and practical shortcomings which, under the often dramatic circumstances of our struggle, have cost us dear. The excessive generality and schematicism of our initial analysis led us to lose sight of certain concrete facts of importance to our struggle. The re-reading of the Manifesto of 1957 and the Programme of 1962 is instructive. The essential character of that period is not correctly reflected in these documents. Although we have never ceased to emphasise the importance of the working class, we have had an abstract and bookish view of it. The concrete realities of the worker's life in Senegal escaped us. "Workerist" jargon served us as a psychological compensation for a lack of real links with the working class.

We have also been very slow to take into consideration the essentially agrarian character of our country. This led to insufficient attention being paid to the role of the peasantry in the anti-imperialist struggle and to the lack of a proper agrarian policy in the Programme of the Party.

On the political level, our actions and positions, seen with hindsight, seem to have been guided too much by simple agitational ideas. Petty bourgeois activism and a taste for the spectacular thus took priority over a methodical and persevering effort to build a credible alternative, capable of mobilising the masses in the long term. The building of firm organisational bases for the Party and the strengthening of its ideology by means of consistent work on the education and training of militants were neglected.

It is equally clear that in our early days, intoxicated by our success in mobilising for national independence, the Party had no clear idea of the difficulties which lay ahead and the magnitude of the task we had set ourselves. On the contrary, as if to reassure itself, the Party tended to underestimate the capacity for manoeuvre of the new ruling class, the strength of bourgeois influence over the masses and the influence of traditional structures on the thought and behaviour of the people. All this led

to mistakes and inadequacies and an inability to escape from petty-bourgeois impatience in the working out of political tactics.

Many of the mistakes and shortcomings mentioned above can be largely explained by the particular social and cultural conditions of our struggle.

They were also due, however, to the theoretical and political immaturity of the leadership at the time and its lack of experience of tasks which our Party was the first to undertake in this part of the continent. These shortcomings were undoubtedly connected with the social composition of the Party which was dominated by petty bourgeois intellectuals and specifically by the university intelligentsia, who were all the more impatient to obtain power because they imagined that they were naturally entitled to it in the post-independence situation.

These mistakes and shortcomings were made worse as we went along by the violation of Leninist rules for the functioning of the Party, by the cult of the personality which grew up around the former General Secretary, Majmouh Diop, by his individualistic style of leadership and finally by the revisionist ideas which he added, in the course of successive redrafts, to the Programme of 1962.

The consequences were not long in becoming apparent. Not only did these mistakes do great harm to the ideological unity of the Party, but they also led to actions which were all the more mistaken because they in no way corresponded to the real situation. When as a result of such actions, the consequences of which had not been correctly foreseen, repression descended on the Party, it was only with great difficulty and with heavy losses that the Party was able to come through.

### **Armed Struggle**

It was precisely in this context of an accumulation of mistakes, political errors and violations of democratic procedures in decision-making, that the Party embarked, at the end of 1963, upon a policy of armed struggle. This was done on the basis of hasty conclusions drawn from some outbreaks of politico-religious violence, together with the disappointments resulting from the fraudulent elections of December 1963. This militarist and adventurist deviation took no account of the forces available to the Party or of the degree of experience and political consciousness of the masses. It was all the more blameworthy in that it was never properly discussed. The 24th plenary session of the Central Committee, which had met a short time before, was not informed of it. On the contrary, that session took a number of constructive and realistic decisions on important points which were inconsistent with the militaristic lurch forward in which the Party was suddenly involved. The bankruptcy of this suicidal policy was made apparent by a qualitative leap in the degree of repression brought to bear against us. This plunged the Party into a crisis the results of which had to be endured for a long time.



### Rebuilding the Party

The task of rebuilding the Party, begun at the National Conference of 1967 and continued systematically on the organisational, theoretical and political levels by the second Congress of the P.A.I. Senegal held in 1972, and by the founding Congress of the P.I.T. Senegal held at Dakar in 1981, has been methodically accomplished. It is now being carried forward in a new context, a context in which the necessities of the struggle require that the Party should be at one and the same time *a vanguard party and a mass party*. It must be a great party of initiative and of struggle in the service of the working class and the popular masses of Senegal. It is in the light of these necessities that the second legal Congress of the P.I.T. Senegal has underlined in a very distinctive way the need for our Party to extend and consolidate its links with the masses, to strengthen its proletarian base, and to offer the working class the opportunity to fulfil its historic mission and play the most active part in social and political change.

The political, ideological and organisational strengthening of the Party and the success of our policy of unity of patriotic forces enable us to seek the best conditions for success in the struggle against the neo-colonial regime. At what stage of this struggle do we now find ourselves? What objectives can we aim at? What forces can we mobilise to achieve these objectives? How do we intend to achieve power and to keep it? These are the important questions which our Congress set out to answer, basing itself on an objective analysis of the situation of our country.

Senegal is dominated in its most vital aspects by foreign capital, associated with a small indigenous class of bourgeois bureaucrats and parasites. The neo-colonialist and capitalist policies followed by the "socialist" government are the essential cause of the growing pauperisation of large masses of the people. These same policies have produced the result that, more than a quarter of a century after its independence, the country has not even set out on the road of economic and social development which would benefit the majority of its people.

Conducted for the benefit of imperialism and the indigenous minority which controls the apparatus of the neo-colonial state, this policy has ruined the country, aggravated social inequality, gravely affected civil liberties, endangered the peace and security of our people, created regional disequilibrium and stirred up ethnic problems which put our territorial integrity in issue, and undermined the foundations of our national cohesion. This situation has divided the country into two camps with irreconcilable interests: on the one hand the camp of those who organise exploitation and profit from it, and on the other hand that of the victims of exploitation whose interest lies in putting an end to it.

It is on the basis of the situation briefly described above that our Congress has defined the present stage of our struggle. This is the stage of the national democratic revolution whose content in our country possesses two dimensions — anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. This double characterisation is not something which we have decreed out of a wish to make history conform to our own desires. It has its basis in the thesis originally put forward by Lenin and confirmed by the modern national liberation movement both in Africa and elsewhere, according to which

national liberatory revolutions increasingly tend to go beyond the simple challenging of foreign domination and to attack the very basis of the system of exploitation of man by man. This tendency not only reflects the spirit of the age — that of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism — but is also a consequence of the change in the world balance of power. It is this favourable historical context which enables a country like ours to skip the period of the maturity of capitalism, thanks above all to the support of the world socialist system.

But in arriving at this double characterisation of “anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist”, we did not base ourselves only on the opinions of Lenin. We looked to see whether that opinion was confirmed by the concrete situation of our country. We noted the fact that the road of capitalist development taken by our country has led to increased dependence, economic backwardness and increased inequality among our people. To this we add another observed fact: where a socialist choice has been made (provided that it has not been prejudiced by subjective errors of one kind or another) the people have benefitted from achievements far exceeding those of even developed capitalist countries.

### **National Democratic Revolution**

What exactly does an “anti-capitalist” policy mean in a country like Senegal where, in spite of the existence of a modern capitalist sector which in the final analysis determines the direction taken by the economy, there is nevertheless a predominance of small producers and traders constituting a petty bourgeois system of relations? It means that on the social and economic level, our national democratic revolution has a double historic mission. Firstly, it must settle the matters left in suspense by the immaturity of capitalist development; in particular this means destroying the pre-capitalist relations of production and social relations which act as a brake on the emergence of modern forces of production. Secondly, it must create and accumulate economic, social, political and cultural forces for the consolidation of our national independence and then for the gradual transition towards socialism.

We are concerned with a particularly complex process in which we can already anticipate certain difficulties arising out of the concrete situation in Senegal. These difficulties mainly flow from the fairly profound involvement of our economy in the world capitalist market with which it has links which cannot simply be broken from one day to the next. Difficulties also flow from the heavy liabilities of our colonial inheritance and from the serious effects upon the behaviour patterns of the masses of the patriarchal ideology surviving from the past. The aggravation of international tension and the increasing cost of the arms race for the socialist countries objectively limit the extent to which they are able to help us. Our people will therefore have to follow the way pointed out to us by the socialist countries: the way of labour, effort and sacrifice. It is only in this way that we can benefit from the aid and support of the socialist system.

Our Party believes that a task of this nature and this breadth cannot be undertaken by one class alone. No one class at present existing in Senegal has the necessary strength to carry it out. In any case the objectives of the national democratic revolution as we see them are in the interests of several classes and

social levels. Therefore they must work together to pursue their common interests. This is why our Party envisages the unity of patriotic and democratic forces in a broad alliance of different classes in a *Democratic Front* of struggle against neo-colonialist and imperialist power.

In the light of our analysis the classes and social groups involved in such an alliance are:

- the industrial working class;
- the peasantry (which is already in the process of differentiation to which we must pay attention, while nevertheless working in the present stage of our struggle to mobilise the peasantry as a whole);
- the middle class;
- the nationalist bourgeoisie (meaning that part of the Senegalese bourgeoisie whose existence and development are threatened by the domination of foreign monopoly capital).

Our Party's strategy and tactics are now aimed at doing all we can to create such a Front. It will become the foundation of a democratic state, based on the joint power of the classes and groups who have allied themselves against imperialism.

### Who Will Lead?

A question often asked about the Democratic Front is, who will lead it? This is an important question to which our Party must give a clear answer. The question of the leadership of the Front does not depend on any preordained order of importance. Leadership is always taken in practice by the class best prepared for it by its level of political consciousness, its degree of organisation, the ideological influence which it has upon the other classes concerned, and in short by the effective contribution which it can make towards victory. In the present circumstances of Senegal, in spite of the genuine dynamism of the working class, it is not that class which can at present take on the role of political and ideological guide in the anti-imperialist struggle. This role is taken by the middle class, in particular by the intellectual salaried workers, because of their level of political awareness, the way in which their education enables them to understand exploitation, and the heavy blows which their material conditions of life have recently sustained. Probably Senegal is not an exception in developing countries in this respect. In any case, so far as our Party is concerned, we have decided that in view of the important role being played by this class in the anti-imperialist struggle, we must adopt an attitude towards it which will increase our influence over it and bring it closer to working class ideology and revolutionary ideas.

At the same time we remain convinced that the Front must eventually be led by the working class solidly allied to the peasantry and in particular the poor peasantry. The Party has therefore given itself the following tasks:

- to redouble our effort to educate and organise the working class, to enhance its capacity for political leadership and raise its class consciousness;
- to intensify our activity among the peasantry so as to mobilise it and win it over to the side of the working class;
- to strengthen our Party by enlarging its popular base and consolidating organisationally the influence which it has achieved in the country.

All these tasks tend towards the achievement of a single objective — to build around the industrial working class a solid bloc of the urban and rural toiling masses, capable of exerting a decisive influence on the course of events.

All the analyses which we have made illuminate our strategy for obtaining power and eventually governing our country. It is a democratic strategy, by which we shall at all times rely upon the masses, advance at the pace dictated by their level of consciousness and what they are really in a position to achieve. As Lenin once said, we must be one step, but only one step ahead.

We must therefore always be in the heart of the social and political battles which are being fought. We must organise, mobilise, explain, discuss and try to convince. We must shake off the narrowness inherited from a long period of clandestine activity and turn resolutely towards the suffering and struggling masses, knowing at all times what they think, what they want and what they can do. Such an approach eliminates the false dilemma between “armed struggle” and “peaceful struggle”. The real task is to educate and organise the masses, to put them in a position to act and at all times to resort to the methods which seem most effective to them. It was after taking the full measure of the demands of such a strategy that our Party decided that cardboard militants and drawing room revolutionaries no longer have a place in our ranks.

At the end of the Second Congress, we look to the future with hope. Our Party has come a long way. We regard the harsh battles through which we have passed as a baptism of fire which has left us more resolute and determined than ever before. To enable our Party to be the true vanguard of Senegalese society, the recognised and accepted guide of all those Senegalese who work, suffer and struggle, we have embarked on a great building operation. We will carry the work forward with patience and consistency, benefitting from the rich experience which we have acquired.

(Translated from French by *The African Communist*.)

CSO: 3400/44

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

MILITARY SPORTS LIAISON MEETS FOR 15TH SESSION

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 10-11 Aug 85 p 6

[Article by B. KONATE: "Getting the Office Back Into Shape"]

[Text] For the 15th session of the West African Liaison Office (OLAO) of the International Military Sports Council (CISM), they finally substituted an informal get-together (lacking a quorum) at Bamako on 5 and 6 August 1985, attended by delegates from Ivory Coast, Mali, and Senegal. That means that of the 13 OLAO member states delegates from only three bothered to make the trip to Bamako.

This very low turnout, which everybody deplored, nevertheless had no untoward effect on the interest evoked by the debates, thereby demonstrating the delegates' concern with revitalizing an agency whose noble objective is to create and maintain, through sports, a spirit of amity and brotherhood among the armies.

The original agenda was used as an outline for the session, which was chaired by Ivory Coast's Capt Kouassi, OLAO's general secretary. In the course of the various addresses, information was forthcoming as to the activities the Organization had decided to undertake at its 14th session in Dakar (Senegal) in September of 1984, including the area of training sports cadres and expanding the Office to include certain countries in the Sub-region, such as Liberia and Cape Verde. In view of the difficulties facing the OLAO, a number of those activities had to be abandoned.

Among those obstacles we must cite the lack of interest on the part of several member countries in the work of our sessions as well as in the competitions. For example, in 1984, every one of the sports meets was canceled. If you add to all that the penurious state of the treasury (non-payment of dues), it is easy to understand why the OLAO has lost some of its steam.

Accordingly, in order to cope with these gaps, the participants in the Bamako meeting, albeit a minority, felt it their duty to seek out ways and means that might give the Organization a new lease on life. Their determination materialized in the form of documents that may well prove useful as starting-points at the next session, scheduled for Togo in July 1986. They also considered the idea of sending out consciousness-raising missions to shake

some member states out of their estival torpor vis-a-vis the office.

Meanwhile, though, Captain Kouassi, in closing the meeting, called on all member states to put some real will and muscle, each at its own level, to overcome the roadblocks that hamper our zone's liaison office, and thereby to make it work more effectively.

Let's hope that this appeal will summon forth favorable echoes in all countries concerned, so that Lome 86 will be a resounding success.

6182

CSO: 3419/535

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

WEST AFRICA'S LIFE SCIENTISTS GATHER IN SENEGAL

Ouagadougou SIDWAYA in French 12 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] On 24 and 25 June 1985, the first meeting of the Western Sub-Regional Committee of the African Life-Sciences Network was held in Dakar (Senegal).

The Sub-region of West Africa comprises: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

Attending the gathering were the following countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, Mali, and Togo.

Burkina was represented by Comrade Moussa Quedraogo, who heads the Natural History Laboratory at IRBET/DGRST. The welcoming address was delivered by the director of BREDA, who sketched the background and cited the objectives the African Life Sciences Network had set itself. RAB [Expansion Unknown] was founded in 1981, in response to the fast-growing concern among the scientific community, to make more intensive use of recent advances in fundamental and applied biology, in view of the many problems facing developing countries that stem from biological roots (nutrition, health, agriculture, forestry, etc.). The Regional Office for Education in Africa (BREDA), in the person of its Director, dwelt at length on the following goals:

- Mobilizing endogenous resources in our countries to make cadre training possible locally;
- Developing suitable and practical teaching materials;
- Upgrading school courses in biology;

He went on to cite the activities in which RAB was the motivating force in 1984, to wit:

Training courses on harmful insecticides, provided to 24 volunteers from Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone.

RAB has also financed a project on insect eradication in Kenya.



As for the program for 1985, it will center on the following topics:

Two training courses in tissue cultures (one in French, for the French-speaking countries) are planned for Dakar from 15 to 18 July 1985. The course in English for those who speak that language will unfortunately be postponed until next year, owing to financial problems.

RAB will duly note the participation of six African scientists who will take part in some major meetings: one such is the International Protozoology Congress now going on in Nairobi. The same applies to the International Congress on Applied Microbiology, which will be held in Helsinki (Finland) and will see three African research scientists in attendance.

The 1985 program also includes RAB meetings in Ivory Coast, Congo, and Gabon; there will also be a on active agents in diarrhea in Nigeria in September of 1985; a workshop on medicinal plants is scheduled for the last week of October 1985 at the University of ife-ile-ife (Nigeria).

In conclusion, Dr Ba, regional coordinator for RAB, dwelt on the organization of the Network's structures. The African Life Sciences Network is unique to Africa. It is subdivided into three subregions, to wit: East and Southern Africa, Central Africa, and West Africa; the decision-making centers are: the regional executive committee, the Sub-regional committee, and the National committee. Dr Rab called on the West African Sub-regional Committee to pick two representatives to sit on the regional committee, beside their peers from East Africa, Southern Africa, and Central Africa. They will gather in Dakar on 15 July 1985 to discuss and priorities to projects for intervention.

Next to take the floor was Dr Dosunmu Ogunbi, coordinator for RAB's West African Sub-region, who proposed the following agenda:

- 1) Reports on activities from national committees;
- 2) Submission of projects;
- 3) Miscellaneous.

#### 1. Reports on national committee activities

We would point out that most of the countries attending the meeting had no operational national committee; some had new ones that had just been organized, others had some in mid-gestation. Only Liberia and Nigeria had a functional national committee already in place, complete with structures. As a consequence, the activities conducted by the various structures at the national level have been confined to the inventory of available research people to staff the national committee. It should be noted that membership is a matter of personal choice.

At the Burkina-Faso level, it is the forest research committee that plays this role, pending formation of a life-sciences committee.

## II. Project Presentation

Here again, a number of countries had not received a copy of the agenda before leaving home. Nevertheless, the IRBET introduced the following projects:

- a project for compilation of an ornithological atlas.
- a project for establishing a Natural History Museum at Ouagadougou.

Projects presented by other countries concern agriculture, health, forestry, microbiology, and harmful insects. Priority was assigned to research efforts into forest and water resources in the Sub-region, as well as to plant and animal genetics and selection throughout the Sub-region. The accent was laid on the need for applying the findings of research by means of extension teaching about advancing desertification, coastal erosion, insect pests, and endemic diseases. The RAB examined the food crisis currently besetting Africa, and possible strategies that would lead to self-sufficiency in food production. To this end, a conference is planned for the end of March 1986 in Monrovia (Liberia), during which there will be seminars in simple technologies for processing local food products recently developed in West Africa and now in use in some countries in the Sub-region.

The meeting then adopted the following projects for implementation, listed by order of priority:

1. Forest Resources project;
2. Annual Congress planned for Monrovia;
3. Harmful insects project;
4. Project on certain species of Candida;
5. Project for compiling an ornithological atlas of Burkina Faso.
6. Project for establishing a Natural History Museum at Ouagadougou.

## III. Miscellaneous

Under this heading, the meeting agreed that it is aware of the communications problem prevalent in the Southwest African Region and of the need for life-science research people to achieve fluency in both the French and the English languages. Accordingly, it was suggested that intensive 3-month courses be offered: in Nigeria for French-speaking researchers, and others in an English-speaking country, for English-speaking participants. Each trainee would spend a month and a half learning the language and the same amount of time on his own work.

The meeting also took up the problem of selecting candidates for the various seminars. In the end, it chose the Sub-region's two delegates: Nigeria and Togo. The last word, of course, came from Dr Ba, who thanked the committee for the serious and responsible job it had done, and urged one and all to hurry up and form their national committees.

6182

CSO: 3419/535

ANGOLA

BENGUELA FAPLA MEMBERS PRAISED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 3 Aug 85 p 12

[Text] In Benguela on Thursday, Luis Paulino dos Santos, Adjunct Coordinator of the Party's Provincial Committee, said that the second phase of growth of the Party will extend to all the military units stationed in the province.

Speaking during the celebration of FAPLA's eleventh anniversary, Luis Paulino stated that those to be selected as Party members will be fighters who have distinguished themselves in defending the victories achieved by the Angolan people during the ten years of independence.

Referring to the political and military situation in the province, the Party leader stressed his preference for the Angolan defense and security forces which spare no effort in carrying out clean-up operations and pursuing UNITA armed bands which seek, at any cost, to de-stabilize the Angolan revolution.

The Party's Adjunct Provincial Coordinator in Benguela urged all Angolan youth to dedicate themselves, firmly and with determination, to the defense of the threatened fatherland.

Swearing in Ceremony

In that regard, Thursday at the Biopio Commune, new fighters for the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) were sworn in in a half-hour ceremony presided by the member of the Party's Provincial Committee, Alexandrino Silva.

During 90 days trainees received combat and political preparation, with instruction and combat intervention methods administered by Angolan instructors in collaboration with Cuban internationalists.

The fighters were similarly instructed on internal Party politics, Marxist-Leninist theory, origins and causes of war, and they were given a general view of present-day psychological preparedness.

FAPLA Fighters Praised

At the Biopio Commune, on Thursday, the member of the Party's Provincial Committee in Benguela, Alexandrino Silva, made public a commendation for the

fighters of the Balombo Municipality. At dawn on the 27th of last month, they repulsed a group of armed bandits who were attempting to attack the municipality's headquarters.

Alexandrino Silva pointed out that this decision was taken by the Executive Commission of the Party's Provincial Committee, which recognized the brave act of the fighters from the Balombo Municipality in forcing the enemy to retreat in disarray.

#### Incentives for Energy Workers

In addition, 16 outstanding workers of ENE (National Electric Company) in the Biopio Commune were awarded industrial goods for their unselfish efforts in performing the repair of the thermal and hydroelectric plant.

These workers from Biopio's Electric Complex determinedly devoted themselves to overcoming the frequent technical breakdowns which for five months have interrupted the supply of energy to Benguela Province. That interruption has caused huge financial damages and reflects negatively on the country's economy.

It must be noted that the damages to the thermoelectric plant were aggravated by the floods caused by the last rains which, either totally or temporarily, halted the repair work at the plant.

Significantly, Biopio's thermoelectric plant constitutes one of the region's main energy sources. It currently supplies energy to the Benguela Province and, partially, to the city of Huambo.

12987

CSO: 3442/394

ANGOLA

THREE SENTENCED FOR SPYING FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 85 p 9

[Text] LISBON--An Angolan court has sentenced a Portuguese citizen and two Angolans to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency, Anop, said yesterday.

Anop, in a dispatch from Luanda quoting the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said Amilcar Freire (65) an accountant working with a textile company, and two accomplices were sentenced on Monday. Two more convicted calloborators received prison terms of 17 and 13 years.

Freire was found guilty of running a spy ring in Angola over the past two years and of passing military and economic information gathered by his accomplices to the South African Secret Services, Anop quoted the Angolan agency as saying.

The two Angolans sentenced to death with him were named as Francisco Barata (61), a business agent, and Agatao Kamati (24), a soldier in the Angolan army.

The death sentence was to be carried out by firing squad but the Portuguese agency did not say when this would be.

In Lisbon, the Angolan rebel organisation Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) distributed a statement which accused Soviet and Cuban pilots aiding government forces of bombing rebel-held areas with Napalm.--Sapa-Reuter.

CSO: 3400/14

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

NEW OFFICIALS APPOINTED--Minister of Provincial Coordination Evaristo Domingos "Kimba" issued dispatches to dismiss and appoint municipal officials and adjuncts in Luanda and Kwanza Sul Provinces. Consequently, in Luanda Province, Armindo Francisco's term of office as Ingombota's municipal commissioner was considered at an end. Antonio dos Santos was appointed Adjunct to the Municipal Commissioner of Cazenga. In Kuwanza Sul, Luis Antonio de Carvalho Junior was appointed Adjunct to the Municipal Commissioner of Cela.. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 3 Aug 85 p 12] 12987

BIE ROADS HAMPER FOOD DISTRIBUTION--Bie Province was supplied with 92,040 kilos of frozen fish during the first half of this year, an amount which represents one percent of the six-month plan. Similarly, only 376,850 kilos of dry and semi-cured fish were sent to the province, an amount which is equivalent to 17 percent of the plan. Also sent were about 48,168 cans of various kinds of fish. According to information given to ANGOP by Paulo Capamba, the local EDIPESCA director, the shortages are caused not only by the precarious road conditions but also by the poor fishing in the Benguela and Namibe provinces. Nevertheless, last year's indicators of fish supplies to the province show a decrease of one product or another relative to 1983, which implies a greater irregularity in the supply planned for the current year. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 26 Jul 85 p 3] 12987

DELEGATION VISITS VIETNAM--The Vietnamese Information Agency (VNA) announced in Bangkok that an Angolan delegation headed by Joao Felipe Martins, Vice Minister of Middle and Higher Education arrived last Monday in Hanoi for an official and friendship visit. According to the same source, the Angolan delegation will be in contact with Dang Hoi Xuan, Vietnamese Minister of Public Health, as part of the first meeting of a Joint Commission dedicated to bilateral co-operation. At the appropriate moment, the head of the Angolan delegation thanked Vietnam for having sent technicians to Angola. The news agency stated that Joao Felipe Martins took this opportunity to hold talks with Tran Quynh, the Vietnamese Vice-Prime Minister, in Ho Chi Minh City. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 1 Aug 85 p 12] 12987

CSO: 3442/394



BURUNDI

CHURCH SERVICES REDUCED, MISSIONARIES EXPELLED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Robert von Lucius: "The Church is Persecuted in Africa's Most Catholic Country: Colonial Era Restrictions and Ethnic Tensions"]

[Summary] Burundi's population has a higher percentage of Catholics than any other African country--about 60 percent are Catholic. According to some sources, 80 percent of Burundi are baptized Catholic and 19 percent belong to Protestant (usually American) denominations or practice traditional religions. Only 1 percent are Muslim, despite accounts that the Libyan embassy in Bujumbura pays converts DM 10,000 or the equivalent to 10 years' income for the average Burundi. Al-Qaddhafi recently dedicated a large cultural center and mosque in Bujumbura.

The Pope did not include Burundi in his third trip to Africa, even though he has visited 14 African countries, some of them more than once. This fact is probably related to the impression that the church is being persecuted by the Burundi regime. Just recently several Catholic priests were apprehended "for violating the laws of an independent country." Their crime--contravening a law forbidding the holding of church services before 5 pm. Toward the end of July several Catholics were arrested for having authored, under the auspices of the diocese, a flyer considered insulting to the regime.

There have been accusations for several years now that the government of President Bagaza (who is a Catholic and regular churchgoer) was acting against the church. The anticlericalism in Burundi, however, is not of the usual sort--there are several motives for it that are related to colonial history, ethnic conflicts, and political power. A cultural conflict rather than a religious one is smoldering in Burundi. Meanwhile, there have been repeated expulsions of missionaries and restrictions placed on church services.

A confidential letter dated 12 February from the Burundi Interior Minister, Lt Col Charles Kazatsa, to which this newspaper had access, shows the extent to which church affairs are being regulated. The letter, addressed to the president, provincial governors, and the director general of the Ministry for Religious Affairs [as published], reminds them that "religious activities" are basically limited to Saturday afternoon and Sundays (though 7 am workday mass appears to be tolerated again). Exceptions to this are noted. Weddings may be held at any time, but the date must be approved by local authorities

ahead of time. Catechism instruction is not to be disturbed. Sick visits by clergy are forbidden except to administer final rites or take confessions. Churches that wish to change their liturgy must notify the interior minister at least a month in advance. If a church wants to display a symbol or statue in a public place it must receive prior permission. Finally, graveyards must be open to all believers regardless of their race or denomination.

The only church newspaper in Burundi was banned shortly after the November 1976 putsch. Schools, including the Jesuit college in Bujumbura, were nationalized and their directors, often priests and nuns, replaced with laypersons. Religious instruction was shortened. In June 1976, 70 missionaries were expelled (personal animosities of village politicians played a role) and in the following 2 years almost a third of the foreign missionaries were expelled. Later there were fewer expulsions but residence permits were not extended nor new entry permits issued. There are still five missionaries for every one indigenous priest in the former German colony. Those expelled included many Belgians, several Italians and Frenchmen, but no Germans--apparently because the German ambassador indicated that German development aid could be reduced if Germans were expelled. In addition, the 30-40 German missionaries and nuns appear to have become better integrated into Burundi society than other foreigners.

These measures seem to be aimed more at the influence of foreign missionaries, particularly the older ones, than at the church itself. These missionaries used to represent the interests of the Belgian colonial power, which took over administration of the region from Germany. During the Belgian colonial period, Blacks were forbidden to attend secondary schools or universities, even abroad. The prohibition was strictly adhered to by the church and the effects of this policy continue to influence the ruling class, whose members received higher education either after independence or secretly in French-speaking countries abroad. During this period, therefore, training of native clergy was not undertaken, and it was also neglected following independence. The establishment of secondary schools by Jesuits and the German Pallottine Order was only grudgingly tolerated by the Belgian missionaries and the Papal legate in Bujumbura. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new nation, proud of its independence, decided to end the primacy of the church in the educational sector, even though the church was heavily involved in primary education. Bagaza's goal of literacy for all youth has largely been accomplished. The instruction program is now determined by the state.

A further factor that has led to restrictions on the church and threatens its role is linked to the ethnic structure of the population. Through a cleverly contrived examination system, the Tutsi, who make up about 15 percent of the population, are favored in education--admission exams to secondary schools are given in French. The Tutsi, who dominate in the army and government, speak French at home more frequently than do the Hutu (who make up 85 percent of the population). In 1972 the Tutsi minority killed of 80,000-300,000 Hutus (the latter figure is one-tenth of the total population). The elite, in particular, were targeted in this violence. President Bagaza is attempting to achieve a better balance between the two groups--which is resented by the conservative Tutsi in the government and army. Neither the Hutus nor the Tutsi

are a monolithic block. Pogroms first occurred at the end of the colonial period when Burundi's hierarchical society was destroyed.

The missionary activity of the Catholics centers on the Hutus. The political leadership naturally views this with mistrust, fearing the "subversive" role of the missionaries who could incite the Hutu majority to attempt a coup. The relations between the ethnic groups are ruled by the minority's fears. Several years ago the Vatican's newspaper warned that the church must be careful not to favor either group. The fight against the Church is ultimately an attempt to reduce its political influence. The Burundi constitution specifically states that it is a secular state. The group surrounding Bagaza probably is also annoyed that several missionaries celebrated a funeral mass for the ousted former president Micombero, despite a ban. The missionaries were expelled.

Related to this are the attempts, motivated by jealousy, of the unity party UPRONA to repress the missions. The financially well-off church can offer the populace more than UPRONA can. The Burundi also seem more inclined to believe the church than officials of the state party. The church is present almost everywhere in the country. Even after the expulsions there is an unusually high density of mission stations. The missionaries who have been working in Burundi for decades are naturally bitter about the reduction in their political influence and the government's attempts to end the Catholic Church's privileged role.

CSO: 3400/68

COMORO ISLANDS

BRIEFS

PROCESS OF LAW--Moustafu Said Sheikh, leader of the Front Democratique, and others accused of complicity in the failed mutiny by rank-and-file members of President Ahmed Abdallah's presidential guard in March (AC Vol 26 No 15) have had their trials repeatedly postponed. Given the unusual structure in the Comores--Abdallah is propped up by French and a few Belgian mercenaries who remained on the islands after conducting the coup that reinstated him in 1978--there is general scepticism about the process of law. The mercenaries, who have no official standing, carried out many of the arrests after the mutiny. They brushed aside the objections of Abdallah's minister of state security, internal affairs and justice, Ali Mroudjae, in order to search his house. Two relatives subsequently arrested have been identified as Adjibou Ali, an economist, and Housseine Sheikh Soilihi, director of the central bank. Torture of detainees is widespread. According to Amnesty International there are 43 civilian detainees in various parts of the islands. Moustafu Said Sheikh is held alone at the headquarters of the Forces Armees Comoriennes (FAC) at M'de. A large group is in the Voidjou military camp, where torture is commonplace. A few, including Said Nafiou Zarkach, the director of civil aviation, are in relatively comfortable quarters in the Gendarmerie in Moroni. Members of the presidential guard accused of taking part in the mutiny are being held in the mercenary headquarters at Kandahani. Little is known about their fate. Two French lawyers who arrived in the islands to investigate the arrests were immediately deported by the mercenaries. Another visitor from France, probably a former officer in the French security agency, La Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire, was allowed in "to assist in the interrogation and prosecution of detainees." As previously reported, the French intelligence services, which backed the 1978 mercenary coup, are showing renewed interest in what happens in the Comores, especially because of competition from Washington, Moscow and Pretoria. One by-product of the wooing of Abdallah by Robert Keating, the US ambassador to Madagascar, may be the transfer of the American satellite-tracking base from the Seychelles (where President Albert Rene is demanding a massive rent increase when the lease expires next year) to the Comores. The rent would be about \$4m a year--a large amount for the Comores. [Text] [London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 18 Sep 85 p 8]

CSO: 3400/59

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM DETAILED

Djibouti LA NATION in French 15 Aug 85 p 4

[Article: "Agriculture: It's Working"]

[Text] Despite the drought that has stricken the country for more than 3 years, agriculture is generally doing well. National production is rising markedly. But tree planting is still lagging. However, officials are confident about the next 5 years.

Agricultural production has risen to 1,200 tons this year from 1,090 tons in 1983-84. The lion's share of production this year comes from the high-production areas of As-Eyla, Mouloud, and Ambouli.

The 1984-85 season, like that of 1983-84, is characterized by a predominance of vegetables in agricultural speculation. Among them is the tomato, still the most widely consumed vegetable in the country. However, there are novelties, such as the appearance on the market of local fodder from farmers in the Hanle plain, who seem to specialize in this product. This year they produced a record 65 tons, and production growth should speed up in the next few years.

Another first in this 1984-85 season is the appearance on the national market of summer or out-of-season vegetables (tomatoes, eggplant, onions, cabbages, leeks, etc.).

These products appearing in midsummer are not cultivated in hothouses but come from the mountain region (Mts Goda and Mabla), where climatic conditions allow them to be grown year round.

A Developing Sector

Agriculture is booming in this region, as has been described in this newspaper in articles on the sizeable activity in the Randa area and environs (see LA NATION 2 May 1985). Gardens are springing up like mushrooms, from 15 last season to 80 today, and Agriculture and Forest service officials say they are still far from reaching the saturation point. These officials say that the greatest growth in national production will come from this region in the next few years. Although the drought of the last 2 years has had no great effect on the trend to increased production, it has caused a not inconsiderable loss of productive land. This is due to increased salinity of irrigation water, as in the case of gardens downstream from the Djibouti coastal plain, or to wells' drying up, as has occurred in Ali-Adde, Harmadoule (Ali-Sabieh district) and Chekeitti (Dikhil district).

## The Date Palm, a Desert Tree

Tree planting is still a poor relation in Djibouti agriculture, but it will not be so for long. The strategy of the next 5 years (1985-90) involves spreading "oasis" agriculture with the date palm as its mainstay. This tree is the object of a timely choice that represents the government's intention to work toward improving the people's living standards.

Planting the date palm offers precious advantages both in the campaign for self-sufficiency in food and against desertification.

The date has very high energy value and is a valuable food for people generally and nomads in particular. A kilo of dates supplies the equivalent of one person's daily calorie requirements. Moreover, the date palm provides raw materials for local artisans, and nomads can benefit greatly from them.

The shade of the palm grove allows the development of other crops, especially vegetables, fruit trees and fodder.

The palm also is part of the campaign against desertification, because it produces substitutes for harvests that have traditionally caused considerable environmental damage.

Despite its considerable advantages, the date palm has hitherto been cultivated in an archaic manner except on the Tadjourah coastal plain, where it is again being cultivated extensively (see "The Dates of Ambabo" in LA NATION 27 June 1985) and in existing experimental groves, where a new technique of cultivation is being tried. The date palm is the prime desert tree and is very well adapted to this country's severe climate. That is one more reason to make date-palm cultivation a top priority.

Let us mention, finally, the recent visit of a mission of FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization, Rome] experts at the invitation of the government. They studied the state of date palms and made recommendations on its cultivation. This mission included Dr Mohamed Khiri, director of the FAO regional center for the date palm in North Africa and the Near East, and Dr Hassan Shabana, director of the National Date Palm Center in Iraq. They toured the Djibouti and Tadjourah coastal plains and the other districts of the interior.

8782

CSO: 3419/552a

DJIBOUTI

BRIEFS

ITALIAN AID REPORTED--The prime minister and interim head of government, Mr Barkat Gourad Jamadou, received a courtesy visit yesterday morning from Mrs. Fanfani, president of the Italian Red Cross. Mrs Fanfani had come from conversations with the minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr Moumin Bahdon Farah. Mrs Fanfani arrived in the capital last Tuesday from Addis-Ababa. She is in Djibouti to supervise the distribution of food aid to drought victims. The Republic of Djibouti is the third country to benefit from humanitarian aid organized by the president of the Italian Red Cross and granted to all African countries stricken by famine. Mrs Fanfani organized the voyage of the "Peace Ship" for 1985. Sponsored by the president of Italy, the United Nations and the International League of the Red Cross, it will tour the continent during the month of August and bring aid to African peoples. The containerized "Peace Ship" is in the port of Djibouti since yesterday morning after docking at Khartoum and Assab. Aid to Djibouti includes clothing, agricultural implements, blankets, syrup, oil, medicines, two prefabricated schools complete with chairs and tables, a mill, three generators, five refrigerators, and a prefabricated clinic. During her stay in Djibouti, Mrs Fanfani will attend to the delivery of this important materiel to various beneficiaries. She will visit Ali-Adde, Atar, Adaitta and, next Saturday, the Mother and Child Center, the ANJ [National Youth Association] and the Peltier hospital. Mrs Fanfani will leave the country Saturday afternoon for Somalia, one of the 15 countries that will receive aid from the Italian Red Cross (Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Guinea-Bissau, and Chad). [Text] [Djibouti LA NATION in French 15 Aug 85 p 1] 8782.

LIME PRODUCTION PROJECT REPORTED--The small town of Dorale, located 8 km from the capital, is regaining one of its early industries: lime production. A Djibouti artisan, Mr Omar Banjir, recently restored a lime kiln built almost 200 years ago by a shipping company based in Djibouti in colonial times. Nestled between the Dorale radio station and the sea, this 3-meter tall lime kiln is a model of the solidity of old-time production. None of it was done with imported materials; basalt and other rock, sand and lime are available in the area. The restoration of the kiln was thus an easy task for Mr Banjir, who has been producing lime. He is using an ancient procedure that involves loading the kiln with limestone and wood for fuel. Raw materials come from the Mangadafo limestone deposit located near the kiln site. The deposit was laid down by marine organisms on the sea floor about 80 million years ago. There is enough rock to produce



3-4 tons of lime a day for the next 25 years. The first try was a success. After a week's operation (3 days for loading and 4 days for cooking), Mr Banjir produced 5 tons of good quality lime. He is planning to double production to 5 or 10 tons by replacing wood with fuel oil. Mr Omar Banjir intends to repeat the operation twice a month in order to achieve a monthly production of 20 tons of lime, which he will sell at 6,000 Djibouti francs for a 100-kilo sack. Imported lime of similar quality costs 7,500 Djibouti francs. He is to be congratulated on his undertaking because it will strengthen Djibouti's economic independence. Djibouti has been importing 36 tons of lime a year at a cost of 1.6 million Djibouti francs. The lime can replace cement, which is very expensive, in the economies of Third-World countries. Recent studies have shown that in India it would be possible to use lime in 40 percent of the cases where cement is used, namely for wall surfacing and mortar. Although lime is much less durable than cement, it can effectively replace cement in low-cost housing, particularly in one- or two-story houses. Moreover, its great plasticity and technical properties make it easy to work with and lend it great variety for decorating. In addition to saving foreign exchange, lime also has the advantage of fitting into the traditional architecture of Third-World countries. [Text] [Djibouti LA NATION in French 15 Aug. 85 p 4] 8782

CSO: 3419/552a

ETHIOPIA

COMMENTS ON THE ETHIOPIAN CHURCH BY CARDINAL TZADUA

Verona NIGRIZIA in Italian Jul 5 p 56

/Interview with Paulos Tzadua, Archbishop of Addis Ababa, member of a church faced with serious problems, on the occasion of his election to the office of cardinal, by Carmine Curci, in Rome: "Red on Red"; date unknown/

/Question/ What is the significance of your election to cardinal, since you are the first member of the Ethiopian church to hold this office?

/Answer/ This election, first of all, makes us believe in the growth of the Catholic Church in Ethiopia. For our church this is an incentive to go forward, although we are faced with problems.

/Question/ What kind of relations do you have with the Orthodox Church?

/Answer/ The Orthodox Church enjoyed a state of constitutional privilege in the old regime. It was recognized as the state religion. The Catholic Church, like other religions, was kept rather at a distance, it was tolerated. After the revolution a radical change took place. The attitude of the new regime was to make all religions equal. This was a tough blow for the Orthodox Church, because it suddenly found itself divested of everything.

On a personal level we have a very good rapport with the members of the Orthodox Church. The patriarch himself always behaved as a good friend. What seems befuddling, however, is the difficulty that we encounter in establishing an official dialogue between the two churches. I detect a certain lack of openness on the part of the Orthodox Church. More than once we invited the members of the Orthodox Church to a dialogue concerning not the topics that we disagree upon, such as Christology, but on the doctrine of the Sacraments: for instance, marriage between Catholics and members of the Orthodox Church. We are ready to accept it, whereas they raise a lot of problems. Maybe the time is not yet ripe for a truly ecumenical dialogue.

/Question/ What was the reaction of colonel Menghistu's regime to your election to cardinal and what kind of relations do you have with the government?

/Answer/ I received the congratulations of the government, although somewhat late...I think that they understood the importance of this event for the history of the country. I cannot speak of relations with the regime, but rather of coexistence. We follow our own course, the government follows its.

/Question/ Even during the present crisis?..

/Answer/ Of course some contacts have been made. The regime set in place a governmental structure under the leadership of the head of state, made up of 11 or 12 committees. The church was invited to participate in one of them.

/Question/ The government is spending millions of dollars on defense. Do you not think that this is a serious insult to the people undergoing tremendous hardship?

/Answer/ The episcopate is not concerned with what the government spends. We ignore it. What we are doing is helping the poor people. You, in the free world, enjoy the freedom to criticize. In our country, instead, the regime is a communist one, dictatorial: you do not dare to say anything! Under such circumstances you have to make a choice: speak up and then leave, or continue to work ignoring what the other side is doing.

/Question/ Does the church then ignore the work of the government?

/Answer/ It ignores it, not out of fear, but because it has made a conscious decision, a decision we made together. We asked ourselves what we wanted to do under the circumstances. Revolution is revolution: it will take its course, and we will take ours. For us it is important to give testimony through our work, to demonstrate our interest to those who are suffering.

/Question/ What is the attitude of the church with regard to the terrible tragedy in Eritrea, a war that has been going on for 20 years and has caused thousands of deaths?

/Answer/ The position of the church is that this war ought to stop. The church expresses itself through its teachings. Intervention, however, seems somewhat awkward. Intervention would mean recognizing one side and ignoring the other and vice versa. And this is dangerous. We suffer with our people, we sympathize with the problem, but we feel it would be inappropriate to take a position.

/Question/ How do you see the future of the Catholic Church in Ethiopia?

/Answer/ I feel optimistic about it. The church will make progress if it is able to combine evangelical work with work in support of the people. We have centers where we provide assistance and foster development, and this helps people improve themselves. It is beautiful to see how the gospel is received in difficult areas, such as Sidamo, for instance. This is the kind of work that we look upon with great hope and that will bear lots of fruit.

12667

CSO: 3428/9

GHANA

## REFUGEES TO BE SETTLED AT SEGE

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 5 Sep 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by Ayikwei Armah]

[Text] **THE Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare is to settle all the immigrant Chadian, Malian, Burkina Faso and Niger nationals at Sege, about 48 kilometres from Accra by the end of next month.**

The immigrants are estimated to be 2,000 in Accra alone.

At the moment, about 600 of them at Madina are to be sent to the Cripple Aid Society Workshop at Madina today so as to minimise their insatiable begging of monies on the streets of Accra.

To achieve this the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in collaboration with personnel from

the Ministry of Health, the Catholic Church, the Department of Community Development and the Madina Area CDRs are holding series of discussions to draw a detailed programme of action to resettle the refugees permanently with income earning jobs.

Mr Samuel O. Komieter Greater Accra Regional Director of Social Welfare

said in an interview yesterday that the programme has to be quickly done "because in Ghana it is an offence and a crime to beg for money".

But, he said, to resettle them properly, the refugees would have to be supplied with tents, bedding and other domestic necessities.

The Regional Director noted however that philanthropic organisations like the Catholic Centre, the Christian Council of Ghana, Ahmadiyya Movement and others are contributing in cash and kind to the resettlement programme.

The Chairman of the Madina Area CDRs, Mr Brandford Botchwey however explained in another interview that "the refugees have realised that efforts are being made by the Government to resettle them outside Accra and they don't want to go".

The CDR chairman said, "they don't want to work. They don't like hard work. At Madina we employed two of them on a farm but they stopped

coming after receiving their pay."

Mr Botchwey said when the CDR detected their absence from the farm and sent for them, the two refugees complained that "the job was too hard and difficult and that they would no longer do it. But they are now on the street 'begging'".

He expressed fears that the refugees would certainly run away after they have been sent to Sege, since they are nomads and moreover have expressed their dissatisfaction to be settled at Sege.

Mr S. Agyei-Mensah, Director of the Social Welfare Department, however warned "if they are resettled and they come back they will be arrested, sent to court and prosecuted."

When I asked him as to what the embassies of the respective nationals in Ghana are doing about the conditions of their citizens, Mr Agyei-Mensah said: "We have written them several letters to establish a dialogue but there has been no response from them".

CSO: 3400/42

GHANA

## IRAN DONATES MEDICAL ITEMS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 9 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Priscilla Takyi-Appiah]

[Text]

**THE Islamic Republic of Iran yesterday presented 31 tonnes of assorted pharmaceuticals including antibiotics, anti-malaria tablets, aspirin and syringes to Ghana.**

The items, which were delivered at the Kotoka International Airport, Accra, form part of 200 tonnes of drugs estimated at \$1.3 million which are being distributed to other countries such as Niger, Mali, Guinea-Bissau and

Sierra-Leone.

Accompanying the cargo was a delegation led by Dr M. S. Khalili, a Professor of the Tehran University. Other members were Mr S. H. Mortazu, Chief Supplier and Dr Alitt Karbazi, a pharmacist, both of the Red Crescent (Red Cross) of Iran.

At the airport to meet them was Mr S. Seyed, Charge d'Affaires of the Iranian Embassy in Accra.

Dr Khalili said the gift is to help Third World countries especially revolution-

nary ones like Ghana. He noted that Ghana has the same revolutionary ideas and objectives like Iran.

He added that the gesture is also aimed at promoting South-South co-operation.

The leader of the delegation further said that he agreed with Ghana's anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist stand. He added that a member of the PNDC, Captain Kojo Tsikata's visit to Iran has served to strengthen relations between the two countries.

CSO: 3400/42

GHANA

LETTER DISCUSSES PLIGHT OF TEACHERS IN LIBYA

London TALKING DRUMS in English 9 Sep 85 pp 5, 6

[Letter to the editor by K. S. Owusu Appiah]

[Text]

The economy of Libya is now on the decline and Gaddafi regime is taking some harsh economic measures to conserve the country's scarce foreign exchange earnings.

The recent order on the alien workers to take Libyan citizenship was seen as a deliberate attempt to deprive the aliens of their right to send part of their monthly earnings home to support their families. All the foreign nationals working in Libya have their salaries paid into their accounts in foreign countries of their own choice. It is in these countries that they do their shopping and send to their home countries because no foreigner is allowed to send anything out of Libya except clothing.

The Gaddafi regime has embarked on mass development projects which attracted a large skilled and unskilled labour force from African countries — mostly from north African states with the majority coming from Egypt and Tunisia.

In the field of formal education much emphasis was placed on the learning of the English language as a compulsory subject in all the educational institutions in the country.

As the country faced the problem of recruiting qualified English language teachers, in 1981 the Libya educational authorities began a small scale recruiting of teachers from Nigeria, particularly Ghanaians who arrived late and could not get appointments in

Nigeria. There were many other Ghanaian teachers who went to Libya on their own.

When the PNDC regime came to power the regime gave its full blessing to the recruitment of Ghanaian teachers on a large scale to Libya. In October 1983 the education authorities from Libya went to Ghana to recruit teachers at the time when the nation was facing the problem of getting teachers and most of the schools in rural areas were without teachers.

In October last year the Libyan authorities were again in Ghana to recruit our experienced teachers. Since the PNDC approved of such exodus, officials of the Ghana Education Service (GES) headed by Mr Nicholas Asante, Director of the Secondary Education of the GES, assisted in recruiting the best of Ghana's teachers, (*Talking Drums*, December 10, 1984).

Teachers from other African countries, especially Egypt and Tunisia who could read in Arabic, were also recruited to handle other subjects apart from English Language.

The mass dismissals carried out by the Libyan authorities has affected all the foreign nationals working in the country and Ghanaians in other sectors were also affected.

As Libya is aiming at reducing her reliance on foreign labour and create more job openings for her nationals, what happened to Ghanaian teachers and many other professionals who

went to Nigeria to look for greener pastures, the same thing will definitely happen to the PNDC-GES sponsored teachers in Libya.

The PNDC regime and the GES should do all they can to protect Ghanaian teachers on secondment in Libya so that all their toil and sweat on the desert would not be in vain.

CSO: 3400/31



GHANA

## CONSULTANTS ORDER DISMISSALS IN COCOA BOARD

London TALKING DRUMS in English 9 Sep 85 p 9

[Article by Poku Adaa]

[Text]

Peat, Marwick and Mitchell, described as World Bank Consultants, have completed their Management Study of the Ghana Cocoa Board, the central government agency for overseeing the production and marketing of cocoa, the country's major cash crop and the number one foreign exchange earner.

According to reliable sources close to the Public Relations Department of the Board in Accra, the staff levels have been reduced to such a point that effective functioning of the board is being impaired as those workers still at post are anxious and jittery because no one knows when the axe will fall on him. Most of them are reported to be resigning to pre-empt their official dismissals.

All the divisions of the Board, namely, the Head Office Staff, the Produce Buying Company Ltd, the Cocoa Services Division, the Cocoa Marketing Division, the Cocoa Research Unit and the Cocoa Processing Factories are all being subjected to the retrenchment exercise.

Of the 19,000 workers affected it is estimated by the Legal Department of the Board that about seventy per cent will be junior staff status. Already the first batch of 460 senior staff personnel have been laid off. The official government reason for approving the consultants' recommendation appear to be that the Cocoa Board needs to be 'restructured' to ensure high production and viability in the industry.

The Trades Union Congress have apparently sanctioned the dismissal. When contacted an official of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union declined to comment. The Implementation and Monitoring Committee of the Board appointed by the PNDC to wield the axe is hell bent to carry out the exercise to its logical conclusion. The head of the Committee, Flt-Lt. Atiemo, has started to distribute 'termination of employment' letters to workers to quit the company as from October 31, 1985.

The Director of Peat, Marwick & Mitchell, Mr Leslie Zurich, is reported to have said "the pruning exercise is going on fine and it shows considerable progress is being made and we are confident of achieving our objectives in a short time, latest by the end of 1986". The worst aspect of this exercise is that another British consulting team, ULG Consultants, have been given a contract worth an undisclosed sum, believed to be running into millions of dollars, to "help farmers", though in what way remains unclear. Mr Zurich has admitted publicly that the redundancy package is costing the Ghana government about \$40 million.

The "restructuring" of the Cocoa Board is being financed from a World Bank Loan of US\$193 million granted through the International Development Association. The strategy of using foreign experts in an indigenous

industry like cocoa is baffling, but then that is the sort of strings that hangs from World Bank assistance which are turning into heavy economic yokes than aiding economic recovery.

The British consultants are applying the same strategies that decimated the British Steel and Shipping industries a couple of years ago. An official of the Cocoa Board lamented the effects of labour cuts on the efforts of the Cocoa Services Division to rehabilitate cocoa plantations which were devastated by bushfires and drought in 1983.

The official expressed doubts as to whether the skeleton staff which will remain after this massive redundancy exercise can offer the needed extension services which is vital to the industry, especially in the very remote areas. What the Cocoa Board needs and what Leslie Zurich and his team should have done, is the rehabilitation of storage

and transport facilities, since nearly 20% of the Board's 700 trucks and vehicles are broken down and off the roads. Sprays, pesticides and other imported inputs are scarce and port facilities inadequate. Pile upon pile of cocoa are locked up in the hinterland and if labour is shed and no transport available, then the industry might be heading towards complete collapse.

The government, in trying to win farmers organisations' support against the workers, introduced a double increase in producer price as a price incentive to encourage farmers to raise output, discourage smuggling and improve the grade of cocoa beans. The hope is that the target of 400,000 tonnes can be achieved with the help of 'foreign experts'.

In 1983/84 the cocoa harvest was down to an all time low of less than 160,000 tonnes.

CSO: 3400/31

GUINEA

PRESIDENT CONTE'S DIFFICULTIES OUTLINED

Paris AFRIQUE NOUVELLE in French 11-17 Sep 85 pp 10-12

[Article by Sory Balde]

[Text] Get several thousand cadres at all levels to accept termination of their civil service posts; protect the ordinary citizens' purchasing power; discipline an army unfortunately afflicted with an itchy trigger-finger; keep a watchful eye on the delicate and tenuous process of establishing amity among the various ethnic groups; make a cabinet facing vitriolic criticism do its job: those are the problems facing President Lansana Conte.

The sidewalk rumor-mills are operating at full speed and broadcasting on all frequencies, beginning with officers, via the government cadre ranks and the big merchants, all the way down to high-school and college students and soldiers in the ranks, and the topic is speculation over what will happen now that Diarra Traore has lanced the abcess of immobilism with his try at toppling President Lansana Conte last 4th of July.

The work-places, once deserted, now can barely hold their pensioners. Everyone is careful to be regular and punctual, not to look busy, but to exchange information received the previous day from Lt X, Maj Y, or Mr Z.

In these endless conferences that last the better part of the day, when they are not merely adjourned to the nearest cafe, the participants form and deform governments, state corporations, and/or coin a currency. Some even go so far as to say that the chief of state is going to retire from office within 3 months!

The fact is that Guinea has a lot to worry about these days. Not about its economic and social lag alone, but for a lot of other reasons in particular, the problem of men. If you are out to

change a system, you have to do a lot better than calling for new faces.

In Guinea's case, what is needed is not only new men: far more important is finding people of integrity who are true patriots. Unfortunately, it is not easy to decide who is reliable, since good intentions are often swamped in nepotism and shady deals.

In less than 4 months, our already exorbitant prices have all but doubled. Officials no longer understand the government's attitude. The government accuses the merchants, and they come back with solid arguments in their own defense. When President Conte received them on 25 July, he voiced the hope that they would make an effort to lower prices "to allow the people to live" (he ought to have said "to survive").

#### Whose Fault?

"Whose Fault" is the title of a play staged by the Mamou troupe back in 1983. They say that then-President Sekou Toure saw it twice before he banned it. The Mamounais' artists ripped the mask off the practices of the old regime.

Sometime prior to the Diarra coup, the Mamou troupe mounted another play, also very critical, about the military government. First conclusion: "Nothing has changed," except the President's style and his language. Guinea's biggest problem, after finding the right men, is to keep functioning as a 3-economy country, with the state economy (the Ministry of Commerce system that proffers very competitive prices to a small number of individuals), the institutionalized economy (the employees of commercial businesses who sell all their products at triple the price to merchants), and the private economy (the notorious black market). Perhaps it is worth adding that this is the same system you encounter at the bank: an official rate (27 sylis to the dollar), a parallel rate suggested for bank employees (between 225 and 275 sylis to the dollar), and the Black market rate (from 325 to 375 sylis to the dollar).

The Guinean merchants of whom the chief of state asked a price-cut explained their problem to him: "The syli is not convertible. And if we are to stock merchandise, we change our currency on the black market. If the banks can give us the break of the official exchange rate, our prices will drop painlessly, and considerably."

General Conte took careful note of this grievance. Pessimism, however, is spreading through the population: "The president is going to suggest a fair solution, but his advisers will shoot it down. And nothing is going to change."

We have a great many state-owned enterprises now engaged in commodity trading (rice, fish, meat, and sugar among them). Despite adequate quantities imported, these enterprises cannot manage to meet the needs of the people of Conakry. The service chiefs and their employees have no hesitation at delivering all the provisions to the big wholesalers who are out to make enormous profits at the expense of consumers. And yet, these same products, bought by merchants in neighboring countries, after all the taxes levied upon them (not to mention that they get their currency exchanged on the parallel market), are priced the same.

Is it time, then, to get government out of commodity markets and do away with the fat advantages its agencies derive to the serious detriment of the taxpayers? Or should these same privileges be extended to the private merchants? The second solution would hardly seem to be the better, in view of the shortage of hard currency there. What the merchants hope most of all is that this monetary question will find a quick solution. That would spare them the burden of standing all day long in line at the bank and at the numerous government offices merely to change less than \$10,000. For that to happen, the government would have to get out of commodity trading.

#### De-governmentalization

But everybody knows that: have we not all heard that in this state-run sector  $2 \times 2 = 9$ : you write off 4 for the state and keep the other 5 for yourself? If at least every citizen of this country could enjoy the benefits of the services of these companies, we might stop and think a bit before doing away with them. Standing in the way, though, is reality in all its cruelty: a boss who hires only 10 or so people draws 4 times as much in "supplies" as does a mechanic (and that is when the latter manages to get his share). And we should still have to find out whether or not the state warehouses actually do sell only to government officials and the big merchants.

President Conte is certainly aware that nowhere in the world, in the so-called liberal regimes, is there such a system of trade. Therefore, he must be able to coerce his employees in commerce to face facts. In other words, to see to it that those in charge begin right now on an agenda of reform leading to privatization. Lowering prices demands that sacrifice. So long as there are three prices for the same goods, consumers will be the only ones to suffer the consequences.

#### Industrial Quantity

Guinea, in Africa, is certainly the country that boasts the most engineers (agronomists, architects, urban planners, etc.), the most doctors, the most pharmacists -- in short, the most senior cadres. The fact is that, less than 20 years after independence, the Polytechnic Institute at Conakry and the various

advanced schools here in the country have trained thousands of senior cadres. If we add to those the hundreds of students who have done advanced study in the Eastern countries, in Cuba, and in China, we quickly top the figure of 75,000 cadres. "During the academic year of 1978-1979 alone, our higher institutions of learning made 1,500 cadres ready to serve the people, and 2,000 of them were agronomic engineers," said Sekou Toure in October 1979 in a speech at Dakar in the course of his official visit to Senegal.

The only industry that really kept running during the Guinean revolution was unquestionably the cadre plant: the Polytechnic Institute in Conakry. It produced them in industrial quantities, but also in high quality. That school delivered prestigious degrees to a great many students, most of them Guineans. Even so, it is by no means unusual to hear those graduates complain of "too many gaps" or of their concern "with getting recycled." As for the vocational schools, they have their share of this mission: thousands of primary-school teachers, highly trained technicians (in electricity, electronics, agriculture, etc.), healing-arts cadres, etc.

The hundreds of graduates from the Eastern countries, Cuba, and China are complaining about their working conditions. They find that "out of pride, graduates from the Guinean schools get all the top posts, although they lack the necessary qualifications. And the local cadres are particularly emphatic in their resentment of cadres who have sounder backgrounds than their own."

Graduates of the Western universities, though, do not know which group to identify with. On the one hand, they are told that Guinea was not the country that sent them to study (they have stopped saying that they are not Guineans), and, on the other, they are given to understand that when it comes to education, "The Sorbonne, Harvard, or Dakar are no better than Patrice Lumumba (in the USSR), Sofia, or Beijing." Those who talk like that change their tune when they come back from a stint at the Western-style universities.

The problem facing General Conte and his government will be choosing from among that elite the men for the job of "recovery," and encouraging the others to look to the private sector.

Defining a real policy for the private sector: that is, not holding the advantages (especially salaries) of this sector down to those of the state, so as to encourage young Guineans to look to the private sector.

Guineans, however, complain of some behavior patterns among the forces of law and order. The most trifling incident evokes a volley of submachinegun fire. Are they too trigger-happy? Are they never ready to listen to explanations? Isn't the situation among the police and armed forces ripe for reassessment? These are all issues of real concern among citizens today.

At the police stations, even though the slogan "correction before explanations," has disappeared from the walls, it is standard practice, just the same. First of all, rough up the customer: there will be time for explanations later on. There are many instances in which the police have been forced to beg pardon of their unfortunate victims.

Truckers in general and even smugglers are shaken down day and night, "even when we have all our papers in order," says one of them. "Besides," he adds, "one day, when the highway patrolman had made sure that I had all the papers I needed, his only option was to ask me for my parking permit. That was the first time I heard anybody mention such a paper. I got the message that he wanted some money, so I took pity on him and offered him 100 syllis or so."

### Like Old Times

When you see a thief bound hand and foot, you can't help feeling sorry for him: his elbows are tied together and his ribs are clearly visible. This is the antithesis of a system with any claim to respect for human rights. It is hardly surprising, though, that such practices are still standard operating procedure in Guinea. It is quite some time since training in citizenship gave way to ideological indoctrination. Everything was done for and in the name of the State. Nobody gave much thought to whether the country derived any benefit from it.

Similarly, there have going to have to be some reductions in force in the administration, as well as in the armed forces: there must be some cutbacks, and order must be restored. It is not so long ago that a corporal in the Party activities committee was giving orders to captains or colonels. And recently, at the People's Palace, during a "people's" meeting, a particularly exercised soldier publicly dressed down a warrant officer who was trying to call him to order. The people witnessing the scene applauded the soldier.

### Binding Up the Wounds

If General Conte succeeds in resolving the controversy between civilians and the military, he will still find another equally disquieting issue on his desk: the scourge of tribalism. Under Sekou Toure, the problem was there, but nobody could or dared call attention to it. Diarra Traore spread it out in broad daylight last 4th of July. While it is true that we can rule out an ethnic conflict for the time being, the fact remains that it is high time it were stamped out for good.

For the moment, the conflict is visible only between big-wigs in the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) (most of them Malinkes) and the rest of the population. However, since the president and his

advisers are dragging their feet about taking the necessary measures, there is a real possibility that the problem will grow. In practice, it does not help much to have the same number of ministers, corporate directors, or ambassadors from each ethnic group. Besides, the mistake made in the 18 December reshuffle was to distribute the ministerial portfolios on that basis; the Sous-Sous got Diplomacy, the Peulhs got Social Welfare and Health, the Malinkes got Education and the Economy, and the Forest People got Mines and Energy.

This is no time for such ethnic distribution. It is no time, either, for sentimentality (everybody finds a job for his cousin, his brother...). Economic recovery can come only through the work of patriots who have one single concern: the national commonweal. If the next round of changes is not governed by realism, if it does not give responsibility to men who are willing to work hard, it is a good bet that our wanderings in the desert will continue.

President Lansana Conte is still very popular, even if the cost of living is rapidly nearing the impossible, what with prices these days, but the people do not understand some of Conte's positions, which they find "confused." In June, for instance, he was calling on civil service executives to encourage the good workers so that they could make ends meet at month's end. A lot of people saw this as "putting the official stamp of approval on favoritism, theft, and corruption." No sooner had the word gone out than the state warehouses, where the army had been ordered to straighten things out, saw a wholesale return to dubious practices. One sign was the rate at which the price of rice soared from 3,000 to 7,000 sylis.

That decision by Lansana Conte worked a hardship on teachers, whose only "bargaining-chip" is their pupils. It was also a measure that hurt the private-sector workers who complain that their salaries, which come into Guinea in hard currency, are paid them at the official exchange rate of 27 sylis to the dollar.



[Boxed Material]     Ask the Man in the Street

Question: If Lansana Conte were running for election today, what would you do?

Answer: Not only would we vote for him: we'd fight to make sure he got elected.

Question: What are your hopes for the future?

Answer 1: That cabinet ministers, service chiefs, and their ilk might learn that there is no such "profession" as minister, service chief, etc.

Answer 2: That good jobs be given more to able, hard-working men devoted to the country's development than to blindly loyal yes-men.

Answer 3: That travel at government expense be banned, as it serves no purpose. Diplomatic missions abroad are there to handle any such matters.

Answer 4: That military personnel serving in the capacity of of public servants be assigned from now on to reserve units. That way, when they are found guilty of poor management, the civilian courts will conduct the inquiry. That meansthey will have not only the same advantages as their civilian colleagues, but will also be at the same risk.

Answer 5: That no cabinet may ever have more than 15 ministers. Such a provision would greatly decrease the cost to the country, because one minister costs at least as as much as 15 top cadres.

6182

CSO: 3419/610

LIBERIA

## ALIEN INTERFERENCE IN ELECTIONS FEARED

### Precautions Against Alien Influx

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 9 Sep 85 p 8

[Article by J. N. Elliott]

[Text]

The Immigration Bureau has begun instituting precautionary measures at the various points of entry to prevent the infiltration of "undesirable aliens" into the country as the October 15 general elections draw near.

According to Immigration Commissioner Edwin J. Taye, stringent security measures have been instituted at the various borders, while special teams of Immigration officers are to be dispatched shortly to the counties to authenticate the documents of all naturalized Liberians.

He told the NEW LIBERIAN in an interview Friday that the measures were necessary to ensure that the ensuing elections are conducted without any outside interference.

Commissioner Taye explained that the bureau has already reinforced manpower at the borders with Guinea, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast, as deterrent to "undesirable persons" who, according to him, are bent on "creating chaos and confusion in any peaceful society such as ours."

In addition to the increased manpower, he said, government is to provide the bureau with jeeps to ensure the effective monitoring of activities along the borders.

He cautioned immigration officers assigned at the borders to be vigilant and dedicated to their duties,

adding that their failure to do so will result in drastic disciplinary measures against them.

Two Aliens Arrested

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS TODAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 1, 2

[Article by J. Gortor Kiazoly]

[Text] Two aliens have been arrested and detained in Monrovia by the Immigration Bureau on charges of falsifying Liberian citizenship, and illegal possession of two Liberian voters' registration cards.

A Sierra Leonean, Vandy Tarawalli, 42, and a Guinean, Solemane Kamara 54, were both arrested last month in Voinjama, Lofa County, during a routine check-up at the borders by Immigration officers.

Disclosing this yesterday to the press in Monrovia, Immigration Commissioner Edwin J. Taye said that Tarawalli was nabbed with a Liberian voters' registration card bearing the name Jata Varled, and also with a Sierra Leone electoral registration card.

He said the Guinean, Solemane Kamara who is an ex-serviceman in the Guinean army, was found with a Liberian voters' registration card bearing the name Solemane Tornor.

According to Commissioner Taye, the self-styled named, Jata Varled, reportedly appeared on the partisan list of the Unity Party from Lofa County, which was submitted to the Special Elections Commission. He said the impersonator was also among some members of the Unity Party who were arrested last month in Lofa County.

He said investigations conducted by the Immigration Bureau revealed that the Sierra Leonean obtained the voters' registration card in Lofa County from an undisclosed source, while the Guinean national was reported to have purchased his card from a local chief there at ten dollars.

Commissioner Taye said the voters' registration cards were given to the two aliens for them to vote during the forthcoming general elections.

However, in an interview with the two detainees, they denied being aliens.

Tarawalli claimed to be Mandingo by tribe and a father of 14 children residing in a town in Voinjama, Lofa County. He said he has been doing business in and out of Liberia, while Kamara also claimed to be a Liberian, who left here and joined the Guinean army several years ago. He said he has two children and an extended family in a remote village in Lofa County.

Meanwhile, Commissioner Taye has cautioned all aliens residing within Liberian borders to desist from falsifying Liberian citizenship, and noted that only Liberians have the right to vote in the forth-coming general elections.

He also warned the general public to refrain from aiding aliens in falsifying Liberian citizenship and obtaining voters' registration cards. Such attitude on the part of any Liberian, he added, is not only unjust, but also unpatriotic.

Commissioner Taye has therefore urged all officers of the Immigration Bureau around the country to step up the security network and be more vigilant in tracking down all aliens who are in possession of the Liberian voters' registration cards.

He said the fact that two aliens have been arrested with the voter registration cards, gives the clue that there are many more who are in possession of such cards, and need to be arrested before the general elections on October 15.

#### Immigration Wants Voter Screening

Monrovia NEW LIBERATION in English 20 Sep 85 pp 1, 6

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Text] The Immigration Bureau is proposing that one of its officers be assigned at each polling station during the October 15 elections to verify the nationality of those voting.

The recommendation was made by Commissioner Edward J. Taye at a press conference yesterday during which he disclosed the arrest recently of two alleged aliens--one of whom is alleged to be a Unity Party supporter for falsifying Liberian citizenship and being in the possession of voter registration cards.

This discovery has led Immigration authorities to conclude that there might be many other aliens possessing voter registration cards.

Commissioner Taye explained that the positioning of immigration officers at the polling stations is one of the means by which foreigners could be deferred from partaking in the elections.

He however said this was a decision that has to meet the approval of the Special Election Commission.

In the meantime, Commissioner Taye said he was dispatching additional men to Lofa County, where the two accused were apprehended, to institute a screening exercise of aliens in the areas.

Asked why his bureau did not work along with SECOM during the initial registration of voters, Commissioner Taye said it was not foreseen that aliens would attempt to gain voter registration cards.

The two accused presented to the press yesterday are, a Sierra Leonean, Vandy Tarawalli, who was in possession of voter registration card No 0040030241 and Solemane Jornoy, a retired Guinean army personnel who was possessing card No 0060010390.

According [to] Commissioner Taye, the alleged Sierra Leonean was identified as being one of several partisans of the Unity Party (UP) detained recently in Lofa and whose names were sent to SECOM as UP members.

The Immigration boss displayed a Sierra Leonean voting card and travelling document bearing Tarawalli name who is identified on the Liberian voting card as Tata Varley.

The accused's photograph was on the travelling document which carried the marking; "Republic of Sierra Leone."

Tarawalli was arrested during a routine check at an immigration post near Voinjama and when the card was found on him, claimed it was given him by an individual whom he did not know to vote for UP, Commissioner Taye said.

In the case of the alleged Guinean. The Commissioner exhibited to the press the Guinean army identification card of Solemane Jornoy, which showed that he was born [born] in Manasea, Guinea in 1931 and enlisted in that country's army in 1951.

According to Commissioner Taye, Jornoy who was named on the voting card as Solemane Kamara, said the card was given to him by a town chief in Lofa County after paying \$10,000 for it.

Both men however maintained before the press that they were Liberians. Jornoy admitted being in the Guinean army, whereas Tarawalli said he was in Sierra Leone for a "long time to cure his leprosy".

CSO: 3400/64

LIBERIA

DOE ASSURES DPRK ENVOY OF NON-ALIGNED POSITION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 3 Sep 85 pp 1, 5

[Text]

Head of State Dr. Samuel K. Doe has said that Liberia will continue to maintain diplomatic intercourse with all states irrespective of their ideological inclinations in order to build a bridge for the promotion of international peace, understanding and cooperation.

He pointed out that it is because of this that Liberia as a developing nation has chosen Non-alignment in its dealings with all states.

Dr. Doe made the remarks last Friday when the Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea accredited to Liberia, Mr. Kim Myon Ryne, presented his letters of credence to him at the Executive Mansion in Monrovia.

The Liberian Leader however said if nations are to achieve the "desired goal of a world free of undesirable suspicion, prejudices and mis-

trust, "we must consistently adhere to the principles of peaceful co-existence and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states, irrespective of their sizes and achievements."

Dr. Doe told ambassador Kim that his accreditation to Liberia was significant in that it represents the genuine friendship subsisting between North Korea and the Republic of Liberia.

Dr. Doe further said Liberia attaches great importance to the maintenance of excellent relation with members of the international community and assured Ambassador Kim of his government's fullest support in his "legitimate endeavours to concretize relations between our two countries."

In a speech he presented to the Liberian Leader, Ambassador Kim conveyed greetings

Sung to Dr. Doe, and pointed out that in spite of the "geographical distance between Korea and Liberia, their two peoples were interlinked by the firm bonds of friendship for their common struggle to build a new society against colonialism and racism."

The Korean Diplomat then praised Dr. Doe's leadership and said that under his administration, the people of Liberia have scored great succes

ses in the struggle to consolidate national independence, ensure the independent development of the country and build a new society, breaking through all sorts of difficulties standing in the way of advancement.

Ambassador Kim then pledged to "make all efforts to further expand and develop the friendly and cooperative relations formed between the Korean and the Liberian people in various fields."

CSO: 3400/28

LIBERIA

NEW UN AMBASSADOR COMMISSIONED

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 5 Sep 85 pp 1, 6

/Text/ Acting Foreign Minister Christopher Minikon yesterday commissioned Mr. Sylvester O. Jarrett Liberia's Ambassador to the United Nations on behalf of Head of State CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe.

Performing the ceremony at the Foreign Ministry, Minister Minikon congratulated Mr. Jarrett for his appointment, and expressed the hope that he would carry out his assignment with "efficiency."

Minister Minikon described Mr. Jarrett as "an experienced diplomat," and expressed optimism that during his tenure at the U.N., he would bring credit to the Liberian Government and people.

Responding, Ambassador Jarrett, who served as Ambassador-at-Large prior to his appointment, thanked Head of State Doe for his appointment, and assured that he will "articulate the views of Liberia to the fullest at the U.N."

The ceremony was attended by several prominent personalities including the former Liberian Ambassador to the United Nations Counsellor Winston Tubman, among others.

CSO: 3400/26



LIBERIA

NDPL RELEASES PARTY PLATFORM

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS TODAY in English 20 Sep 85 pp 6-8

[Advertisement]

[Text]

We, the partisans of the National Democratic Party of Liberia, are witnesses to the birth of a new Political Order.

In the rhythm of our national life, the emergence of the National Democratic Party of Liberia is marked by a renewal of vibrancy and a resurgence of hope.

Our country has sensed that an important page of Liberian History has been turned because of our Historic Revolution of April 12, 1980. Our people now have a clean sheet on which to write a new political, economic, and social order, to move forward in solidarity and to evolve common goals.

The Liberian people have turned away from the memories of their painful past decades of inequality and injustices, of non-indigenous minority rule, of

accepting the gap between pious promises and poor performance, and now nourish the hope and conviction that our new leadership, making a fresh and confident start, will find therapeutics for the nation's ills which eluded its predecessors.

Our people, the voters, and our young of non-voting age, expect and are entitled to receive new diagnosis of our nation's ills, new strategies for economic growth and development and new and bold initiatives. The Standard Bearer of NDPL, the leader of the Revolution on April 12, 1980 conceived all of these and he is the best man to implement them.

This is the time when a full measure of faith is rekindled; a time when the political skies show a broad and resplendant faith of

good-will; when there is optimism of impending vigor and decisive leadership of governmental action.

The National Democratic Party of Liberia shall contribute towards making the transition from Military to Civilian Rule, in peace, tranquility, and concord, and upon election shall construct workable National Policies and progress characterized by fair play, honesty, objectivity, and accountability.

With the National Democratic Party of Liberia, a glorious future awaits all Liberians.

It is a future designed for the full participation of all its citizens from the cities to the remotest villages. This future, the vision of the National Democratic Party of Liberia, is totally committed to economic growth, individual and collective prosperity, freedom, justice, and unity.

The National Democratic Party of Liberia holds that government, and those entrusted with government, should set a high example of honesty, of justice, and unselfish devotion to public good; that they should labor to maintain tranquility at home and peace and friendship with all the nations of the world.

### Philosophy

Embedded in its beliefs and aspirations is the dogma of the National Democratic Party of Liberia that a euphoric society is that which is governed by fair and indiscriminate laws. Any administration that departs from this principle is doomed to create a national failure.

### Policies

Committed to its philosophy as stated above, and determined to work honestly and fearlessly in the interest of all the citizens of the Republic of Liberia as well as our foreign friends within our borders, the National Democratic Party of Liberia, assembled at its first National Convention in this hospitable city of Virginia, Montserrado County, reaffirms its commitment to the nation and the world to pursue and implement upon election to office, the following policies of national reconstruction to create

a new social and economic order and good-will to all in a country to be ruled by law, not man.

### The Constitution

As we move from Military to Democratic Civilian Rule, our new constitution is the first made and framed by Liberians, and drawn from the entire cultural and regional spectrum of our nation. It is both a legal and pragmatic document, possessing the refinement and sanction of the citizenry of our nation.

The National Democratic Party of Liberia is committed to that document and will protect and defend it and will ensure that all the rights, privileges, obligations, and responsibilities contained therein are respected and upheld.

The citizens have the right to expect fair treatment from their government. The National Democratic Party of Liberia will act more effectively and efficiently in areas of human needs.

Under the framework of the Organization of African Unity, we shall pursue political and diplomatic cooperation, economic, health, sanitation, nutritional, scientific and technical cooperations as well as other forms of cooperation for the betterment of the people of Liberia.

We shall unreservedly adhere to the principles enshrined in the Charters of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Economic Community of West African States, the Non-Aligned National Movement and the Mano River Union and the elimination of apartheid from South Africa.

The National Democratic Party of Liberia solemnly pledges to pursue these cardinal principles in Foreign Policies.

### National Unity

As the full impact of the event of April 12, 1980 unfolds, the National Democratic Party of Liberia resolutely commits itself to national reconstruction, reconciliation and national unity. The Party believes that the collective efforts and good-will of our people can stimulate economic growth and accelerate national development.

In pursuance of this policy the Party will encourage participation in government, as well as in private sector so that all its citizens may be prepared to contribute to our nation building meaningfully.

## Foreign Policy

Foreign relations now embrace many significant phases of our national life. The international influence of Liberia has long been well established. The National Democratic Party of Liberia is purposed to labor vigorously to make it greater with new responsibilities.

## Employment

To ensure effective and efficient administration, it shall be the policy of the National Democratic Party of Liberia to encourage maximum employment of qualified citizens. In so doing, the National Democratic Party of Liberia shall uphold and improve the Liberia-ization Policy.

## The Family and Private Property

The social and political fundamental unit of the Republic has and will continue to be the family. It is from the family that our children are nurtured into maturity; it is in the family that our spiritual and cultural heritage are perpetuated and our tradition preserved. It shall be therefore the policy of the National Democratic Party of Liberia that the family will never be jeopardized or destroyed; and we affirm our determination to protect, secure, and preserve family life.

The right to private property will always be respected and will remain sacred. Private ownership is the cornerstone of our Liberty; without it our free enterprise system cannot successfully endure.

We shall protect the sacredness of property ownership and will do all that is necessary to assist Liberians to share in the ownership of the wealth of our nation.

## Policy of Dishonesty

As governments are assailable by dishonest practices, the National Democratic Party of Liberia shall vigilantly seek and weed out dishonest elements unworthy of the confidence reposed in them. In so doing, a code of ethics will be designed to regulate the conduct of public officials. It shall also be the policy of the Party to create an honest society.

## National Defense

We shall regard our soldiers as a solid pillar of our nation. Their mission is and always will be to defend our national independence and territorial integrity. We are committed to improving the organization of our Armed Forces and to ensure the well-being of all their personnel, in particular, the conditions of the conscripted ranks.

## Agriculture

The National Democratic Party of Liberia will accord priority to the development of the agricultural sector in the economy. The objectives will be to improve the employment opportunities in the rural areas, attain food self-sufficiency and increase the output of cash and tree crops such as rice, cassava, plantains, palm products, cocoa, coffee, etc. The development strategies for this purpose will include the provision of extension services to the farmers in rural areas and granting of credit facilities to them on reasonably easy terms. In order to provide credit facilities, the Agricultural Cooperative Development Bank will be required to enlarge its branch network in the interior and in addition, the cooperative movement will be developed and strengthened.

Encouragement will be given to ensure the growth of Liberian owned agro-businesses and industries. The National Democratic Party of Liberia shall encourage and monitor the effective mobilization of cooperative farmers and the efficient management of their resources through the Cooperative Development. The Party further commits itself to the maintenance as well as the reforestation of our forest resources including conservation

of wild-life in the country. We favour increased research and exploration for conserving and better utilizing fishery resources.

## Health and Social Welfare

The National Democratic Party of Liberia shall design program that every Liberian will have access to health care at reasonable cost. We shall seek better health facilities for our urban and rural areas throughout the country. In creating a national pharmaceutical industry, we shall seek to rationalize the production and distribution of pharmaceutical products.

We shall seek to maintain and improve our commitment to the aged, the poor and the disabled by providing care at minimum cost. Primary child care through a nationwide immunization program will be pursued and supported.

## The Economy

The National Democratic Party of Liberia subscribes to the Free Enterprise System. The primary objective of the Economic Policy will be to accelerate the growth of the economy aimed at improving the quality of life of the Liberian

people within a reasonable time frame. The National Democratic Party of Liberia shall continue to adhere to the concept of planned economic development through Four Year Development Plan, coupled with annual programing attuned to the broad objectives of the Four Year Plans. The plans will set specific targets of achievement for the public by the private sector. Maximum emphasis will be placed on enlargement of employment opportunities for the Liberian people. For it is only through increased employment that the welfare of the people can be enhanced.

As the openness of the Liberian economy has been of significant benefit to the country, no effort will be spared to maintain and improve this unique characteristic of the economy. The U.S. Dollar along with the Liberian Coins will continue to be the legal tender in the country. Positive and effective steps will be taken to sustain the confidence in the monetary system.

In our quest to attract foreign investment, the investment code will be revised and improved with the twin objectives of providing maximum incentives to foreign investors while at the same time curbing such foreign investments as have proved to be unscrupulous

and exploitative. Through tax measures and other reasonable incentives, the private sector will be given all encouragement for expansion and improvement to accommodate intensification of its efforts and role for sustained national economic growth. It shall be the policy of the National Democratic Party of Liberia to encourage desirous Liberians to engage into meaningful business enterprises.

### Government Finance

As government's fiscal situation is characterized by a serious imbalance between revenue and expenditure primarily resulting from world-wide economic recession, compounded by heavy debt-servicing burden, effective measures will be taken to strengthen government's financial future. Concurrently, systematic and concerted efforts will be made to prune recurrent expenditure with a view of balancing the nation's account.

Reforms will be made in the banking system with the objective of increasing saving mobilization and ensuring allocation of scarce resources for productive purposes.

### Education

The Party subscribes to the notion that investment in the human resources of a country is a sure way towards industrialization and economic independence.

Recognizing that primary education yields the highest rate of return on investment relative to the higher levels of education, and that increase in productivity for the largest wage-earning sector of the country depends on the acquisition of basic education, the Party subscribes to the expansion of access in order to place primary-school education within easy reach of the Liberian school-age population. The Party will also continue to expand access in secondary schools and institutions of higher education. The Party pledges to strive for improvement in the quality of education at all levels.

The Party espouses the equitable distribution of educational facilities on the basis of the population within the respective geographical or political subdivisions, and will encourage the full participation of females in deriving as much benefit from the nation's educational institutions as their male counterparts.

To attract and retain professionally qualified and able staff in the nation's schools, the Party will fully endorse the gradual introduction of a graduated salary scale for teachers at the earliest opportunity, consistent with the economic resources of the nation.

The Party will continue to support the awards of scholarships in institutions of higher learning in order to build the manpower required for developing the nation's resources.

### Information and Communication

The National Democratic Party of Liberia commits itself to the principle of free flow of information and freedom of the press. Because an adequate communication system is a necessity in a developing country as Liberia, the Party favours the establishment of a nation-wide program of media development to link all parts of our country. We will support the development of international communication system.

### Culture and Tourism

Our values and culture as a people must be cherished and promoted. The Party attaches significance to the cultural aspect of our heritage and will ensure its maintenance and preservation. The potential of Liberia to attract tourism is yet to be fully explored. The Party shall devise the ways and means to achieve this end.

### Labour

The National Democratic Party of Liberia reaffirms its total commitment to the principle of fairness to workers and fair labour practices in labor relations, including the right to form unions for collective bargaining. The Party calls upon both labour and management to improve the quality of work and work-conditions. Equal work must be compensated by equal pay.

### Public Works/Rural Development

The National Democratic Party of Liberia realizes that throughout human history construction and maintenance of roads have always been considered primarily essential to the overall development objectives of every nation. The Party believes that communication among all segments, towns and cities through a vigorous road construction and maintenance program connecting all our villages, towns and cities will not only facilitate trade and commerce but also advance and promote in a tangible manner, unity, friendship and brotherhood concretized by such contacts among our people made possible as a result of such a program.

The National Democratic Party of Liberia considers that sound urban development program for the improvement of the living conditions of urban dwellers can only be sustained by a simultaneous maintenance of a determined rural development plan. Construction of farm to market roads will be given priority because it is only then that our country's vast farmland areas can become accessible for agricultural purposes.

The National Democratic Party of Liberia will not be contented with a network of mere laterite roads. The Party's main aim is to evolve a program whereby within a projected period, not only roads connecting county capitals in the nation can be paved but that principal areas including tourist attractions may also be reached by paved roads thereby boosting the country's tourist industry.

#### Commerce/Industry/Transportation

The National Democratic Party of Liberia strongly believes that no nation can become truly prosperous without the development and expansion of commerce, industry and transportation. In the area of commerce, the Party is fully aware that this sector deserves increased attention. For this reason, the Party is committed to expanding trade and commerce with all nations, particularly with the Mano River Union and ECOWAS. It will be the policy of the National Democratic Party of Liberia to advance Liberian business entrepreneurship and encourage, promote, and ensure Liberians participation in the commercial sector of the economy. The Party recognizes that no country can achieve full economic well-being without involvement of its citizens in the commercial life of that country. Towards this end, while preserving the Free Enterprise System, it shall be the aim of the Party to consider the creation of some incentives for citizens interested in going into business and to promote training programs in connection therewith.

Not only will the Party encourage commerce in general but steps will be taken towards industrialization as well. The Party believes that efforts should be intensified towards the establishment of an industrial base. The aim should be the creation of light industries resulting from the accelerated business activities arising from the improved state of the economy attained as a result of expanded trade and commerce.

Cognizant of the fact that maximum benefits can be achieved only when commerce and industry are expanded together with a developed and efficient transportation system, the Party shall endeavor to seek expansion of the present public transportation system to serve not only metropolitan Monrovia but all principal towns and cities. Private transport enterprises shall be encouraged with a view to making it not only convenient for the movement of people from one section of the country to another but to also facilitate transportation of goods.

Done in Committee Room in Monrovia, Monserrado County, this 19th day of July,  
A.D. 1985.

James N. Nagbe  
Chairman

Harry T. Faber Nayou  
Co-Chairman

Edward V. Alladin  
Secretary

Sunday B. Onadeko  
Member

Richard K. Flumo  
Member

Philip K. Deah  
Member

CSO: 3400/63



LIBERIA

SOUTH KOREA ASSISTS NEEDY STUDENTS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 5 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] The Korean Ambassador accredited near this Capital, His Excellency Myon Hong Lee has donated on behalf of his Embassy, \$1,250.00 to ten students of the University of Liberia who are unable to meet with their financial needs for Second Semester Academic 1985.

The presentation was made yesterday morning when the ambassador paid a courtesy call on the President of the University of Liberia, Dr. Joseph G. Morris at his office on the Main Campus of the University.

Ambassador Lee said he was making this modest contribution in response to the FOOTPRINTS newspaper article of September 3, 1985, which stressed the financial predicaments of the University of Liberia students from the rural area of Liberia who do not have scholarships and were receiving no financial aid from any source.

He told Dr. Morris that the selection of the needy students is left with the University authorities to make. The Ambassador also said that the students to be selected must have good academic records according to university requirements.

It will be recalled that the Republic of South Korea donated four buses to the University of Liberia in 1982 in continuation of her aid to the University.

Responding, Dr. Morris expressed appreciation to Ambassador Lee for the kind gesture and noted that South Korea has always contributed to the welfare of Liberia.

Dr. Morris asserted that South Korea has identified herself in all aspects of the development strides of the University and hoped that the cordial relationship between Korea and the University of Liberia would remain comented and fruitful at all times.

The meeting was attended by the Vice President for Administration, Dr. Thomas G. Koon and Dr. C. Wesley Armstrong, Vice President for Academic Affairs, among others.

CSO: 3400/26

LIBERIA

UP PLEDGES TO SCRUTINIZE EDUCATION

PARTY PLATFORMS VIEWED

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS in English 2 Sep 85 p 12

[Text] A thorough scrutiny of the present educational system will be undertaken by a "Unity Party government" to discover the structural, basic underlying problems with a view to halting further deterioration, the Presidential Candidate of UP, Dr. Edward B. Kesselly said last Wednesday.

Delivering a post-nomination speech at the Administration Building in Gbarnga, Bong County, Dr. Kesselly observed that hardly anyone can be satisfied with the state of affairs under the present educational system with so many students failing national examinations yearly.

He noted that the educational system under a UP government will be based within the community, responsive to the needs of the community in particular and the nation in general.

Scholarships, he continued, will be based on merits and national priorities "not nepotism, favoritism and the like."

The schools will become real centers of learning and achievement not just places for "marking time," he said, pointing out that diplomas and degrees will signify particular achievement, not just for paper denoting classroom attendance.

Dr. Kesselly stated that teachers will be placed on a career structure with requisite salary incentives and training opportunities.

He noted that UP will strive to ensure opportunities for training and self-development of teachers adding "for the most modern facility is nothing without disciplined, well-trained teachers."

Dr. Kesselly pointed out that the party will seek to ensure a "first rate and functional civil service" in Liberia, free of political manipulation.

He said such civil service will be one that is career-oriented where civil servants may serve without fear of political harassment and intimidation.

"We are fully aware hat a totally functional and competent civil service system augurs well for the proper implementation of government policies and programs," he pointed out.

He added that the party believes that a proper civil service system bases employment on merit factors only, provides opportunities for career advancement on merit factors and bases retirement and pension on these same factors.

It is for these reasons that UP intends to provide the opportunity for such a merit-oriented civil service system to grow and flourish in Liberia by the enactment of appropriate legislation, Dr. Kesselly said.

On foreign policy, Dr. Kesselly pointed out that the party intends to enhance Liberia's relations with all friendly peoples.

#### LAP Wants Government of National Unity

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS in English 5 Sep 85 pp 12, 10

[Text] A government of national unity will be formed by the Liberia Action Party (LAP) should it win the forthcoming general elections for the Second Republic, a statement delivered by the party said yesterday.

The statement which was read at a news conference by the Acting Coordinator of the party, Mr. S. Edgar Sie Badio, noted that such government "will effectively tap the best in our society."

Outlining its administrative policies, the statement said a IAP government will not dismiss professionals solely because of their support for other political parties.

IAP will devise and implement training and retaining programs for Army and security personnel and civil servants, towards supplying the technical and managerial capacity needed to manage the economy, the statement pointed out.

According to the statement, there will be respect for traditional rulers, and noted that to this end, chieftancy will be an independent institution in which no chief elected by his people will be summarily dismissed except by due process of law.

Among other things, the statement said that IAP will design a pension scheme based on actual services rendered, not for political patronage, adding that a well-designed pension scheme is the only sure guarantee a public servant has after devoting his useful life to the service of his country.

The statement stated that a IAP administration would ensure that government officials are easily accessible to the press at all times, and that the press would also be allowed to public institutions where non-security matters affecting any individual, group of people, or the nation is being discussed or determined.

Touching on the economy, the statement pointed out that IAP would seek to promote economic recovery.

The statement indicated that recognition accorded "our" expertise, commitment and dedication, nationally and internationally, by relevant financial institutions shall "help us" to successfully attack the root causes of the present economic difficulties.

The role of the state in the provision of goods and services, especially those activities suitable for private undertakings, would be "thoroughly scrutinized" by IAP in an effort to redirect state resources to effective governing the state-ment noted.

It added that the Open Door Policy should effectively promote the development of Liberians, stating that IAP would actively promote private investment by creating an atmosphere conducive to free enterprise in a larger freedom.

On Agriculture, the statement noted that IAP recognizes the potential role of agriculture in sustaining any nation, thus, emphasis would be placed on the design and implementation of rural development strategies.

The statement said salary disbursements would be regularized by a IAP administration, and that civil servants must be paid on time at their places of work.

CSO: 3400/27

LIBERIA

SUPREME COURT TO PROBE POWER RIVALRY IN SEAMAN UNION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 6 Sep 85 pp 1, 6

[Text]

Mr. Daniel Bracewell of the Seamen, Port and General Workers Union is to appear before the People's Supreme Court of Liberia following a writ issued him by the justice in chambers Boima K. Morris.

According to a Temple of Justice release, Mr., Bracewell has been summoned to defend himself in prohibition action filed against him by the former president of the Seamen's Union, Mr. John M. Gray.

The release quoted the petitioner (Mr. Gray) as saying that even though the December 31, 1984 election which brought Mr. Bracewell to power as president of the Seamen's Union was declared null and void by the Ministry of Labour, Mr. Bracewell had continued to act as president of the union.

The release said if the petitioner's (Mr. Gray's) request for prohibition is granted by the Supreme Court, Mr. Bracewell's administration will be banned and power handed back to the former president, Mr. Gray.

It can be recalled that in July this year, the Board of General appeals of the Labour Ministry nullified the December 1984 elections of officers of the Seamen's Union, following investigation into complaints filed by Mr. Gray.

In their complaints Mr. Gray and his group said at the time that the election continued by the director of the Trade Union Bureau of the Ministry was not genuine because less than one-third of the union's 3,000 registered voters took

part in the elections, according to complaints.

Mr. Gray and his group also contended at the time the president-elect, Mr. Bracewell was an employee of the Bong Mining Company and therefore was not qualified to contest a trade union election while he was still in the employ of a partly government-owned entity.

In its decision, the Board of Appeals said

it had observed that only 112 of the 376 registered members are sent at the elections, voted and added that this was not representative of the two-thirds majority required by the by-laws and constitution of the union.

The Board of Appeals also noted that voters were not accorded the rights of franchise to elect their leadership.

CSO: 3400/28

LIBERIA

MONTHLY REVENUE INTAKE INCREASES

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS TODAY in English 9 Sep 85 p 1

[Text]

Revenue collection in the country has increased remarkably from \$1.5 million to over \$2 million a month, Deputy Finance Minister for Revenue and Excise, Captain Eddie G. Manly, disclosed to FOOTPRINTS TODAY recently.

Minister Manly who was speaking in an interview at his office described the nation's economic recovery program as successful as a result of the re-organizational structure at the Free Port of Monrovia, and other areas of revenue collection.

He noted that the collection of revenue has taken a new trend through a management control system that identifies areas which have not been considered in the past.

The Minister also observed that Liberians are now aware of their obligations to

government, and they are more concerned about paying their taxes.

He further explained that public corporations like the Liberia Petroleum Refining Corporation (LPRC), Liberia Telecommunication Corporation (LTC), Liberia Electricity Corporation (LEC) and Liberia Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC) are among others paying substantial amounts into government revenue.

Concerning concession companies in Liberia, Minister Manly said their operations here have been rewarding in that Liberians gain technically and the companies provide social benefits and contribute tremendously to the economic development of the country.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue Mr. Molley N. Gray, who also spoke to FOOT-PRINTS TODAY said the success could be attributed to expenditure control initiated by Government with the aim of generating adequate revenue during this fiscal year.

He mentioned that the Liberian government anticipated other friendly governments to assist with its financial recovery when the \$386.5 million budget was announced recently.

Minister manly said,<sup>1</sup> government has redoubled its revenue collection campaign, using trained manpower to handle the operations effectively.

CSO: 3400/61



LIBERIA

MONEY TRANSFER HALTS WITH EXHAUSTION OF FOREIGN RESERVES

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 12 Sep 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Text]

Commercial banks operating here are reported to be virtually halting all transfers of money overseas, a situation which is greatly hindering personal and business transactions abroad.

Bank executives interviewed yesterday, said the action became necessary because their accounts with their affiliates abroad have been exhausted.

For the past few weeks ordinary Liberians and businessmen have been scurrying from bank to bank to either to buy Travellers' Cheques, Money Orders or to transfer funds to personal relations or business associates. But wherever they went the response was the same: Sorry, we are not transferring money.

Neither has it been any easier for the travellers who are unable to obtain Traveller's Checks.

A female traveller told me that she had to resort to what she described as the "black market" --buying one U.S. dollar at \$1.25 in Liberian coins. Places for this new kind of transaction are said to be mushrooming around Monrovia.

One banker, interviewed yesterday told me that they have to obtain enough hard currency --meaning more American dollars--before they can resume money transfer.

He explained that the Liberian coins are only intended for domestic use and not for international transaction.

A teller at the Meridian Bank told me that her bank might resume transfer of money after a "few weeks".

At the Tradevco Bank, a charming teller with a melodic voice replied: "Sorry, we don't know when we will resume transfer".

When the National Bank of Liberia (NBL) was contacted for comments, officials there admitted that the country is facing a serious liquidity crisis.

An NBL official blamed the present situation on the inconvertibility of the Liberian coins, capital flight and the depletion of bank balances abroad.

The official said the NBL had recently assisted local banks in transferring needed cash abroad but was finding it difficult to further do so as its own accounts abroad are "very low".

The official said the worsening liquidity position of the country has been aggravated by the International Monetary Fund's decision not to assist the country during the 1985/86 fiscal year and the declining demand for Liberian's main hard currency earners, iron ore and rubber.

Another NBL official said the National Bank will shortly hold emergency talks with the commercial banks in a bid to find solutions to the present crisis, but it is not known what prospects could be expected from such a meeting.

LIBERIA

DOE URGES FARMERS TO INTENSIFY CASH CROP PRODUCTION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 5 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The Head of State and President of the Interim National Assembly, CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe, has called upon farmers throughout the country to ensure that after each rice planting and harvesting season, the land should be utilized for planting coffee, cocoa and other cash crops.

An Executive Mansion release issued Tuesday said that Head of State Doe's call was contained in a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Col. Edward K. Sackor, Directing the Minister to inform all county superintendents, local authorities and all communal farmers of these new measures.

The release further said that these measures are consistent with government's efforts to boost agricultural productivity and improve the incomes of "our rural farmers."

It said Dr. Doe expressed the hope that all farmers will seize the opportunities provided by the Ministry of Agriculture, the various agricultural development projects and other institutions involved in providing service to farmers.

CSO: 3400/26

LIBERIA

SACKOR URGES RADIO TO AIR MORE LOCAL NEWS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 10 Sep 85 p 8

[Text]

Internal Affairs Minister Col. Edward K. Sackor has suggested that more air time be allotted to local news stories on the national radio, ELBC.

He said at a time when the nation was moving towards civilian rule, the people of Liberia should be adequately informed about events in the country.

Speaking to the Liberia News Agency Sunday at his Paynesville residence, Col. Sackor observed that only five minutes is allotted to local news stories, while ten minutes is given to foreign news on ELBC's news casts.

He said even though Liberians want to know about events beyond "our" borders, it was necessary that the masses who are taxpayers are informed of development programs in their respective areas.

Minister Sackor then suggested that ten minutes be devoted to local news, if daily events in the country are to be fully publicised. He also suggested that programs on ELBC radio be upgraded. -- LINA

CSO: 3400/61

MALAWI

BRIEFS

DANISH, SOUTH AFRICAN AID--The Malawian Government has signed two separate agreements totaling 3.7 million kwachi with the governments of Denmark and South Africa. Under the agreements, Denmark is to provide approximately 2.6 million kwachi and South Africa will provide 1.1 million kwacha. Minister of Finance Edward Bwanali signed both loan agreements on behalf of the Malawian Government in Lilongwe. [Summary] [Blantyre Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 26 85 MB]

CSO: 3400/33

MAURITIUS

EMPLOYMENT MINISTER SPEAKS ON DEMOCRACY AT CONFERENCE

Dakar L'UNITE POUR LE SOCIALISME in French Jul 85 p 9

[Article by Sana Sane: "Dr Diwakur Bundhun: 'We Are Condemned to Stand together'"]

[Text] Having come to participate in the International Conference on Democracy in Africa, in the name of his party, the Mauritian Socialist Movement (MSM), Dr Diwakur Bundhun, minister of employment, social security and national solidarity, placed himself exclusively in the hands of "Unity for Socialism."

With an easy manner and exemplary modesty, this brilliant intellectual spoke to us in turn, with great facility, of Mauritius (his country), democracy, human freedom, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), 2nd of Diego Garcia, one of the islands of the territory occupied by the United States of America.

"In Mauritius, we live in a real democracy, since we have always held free, democratic elections, without any fraud," the MSM representative said in substance. As if to give more weight to his remark, Bundhun indicated that two successive elections took place in 1982/1983 following many disagreements that ended in the removal of the former coalition government made up of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) and the Mauritian Socialist Party (PSM), which at that time had won all the seats in parliament (60 in total) and all the district elections. It was consequently necessary to organize new elections. In August 1983, the MSM, in an alliance with other parties, carried off the victory, without a single drop of blood being spilled. "There," he pointed out, "is an example of democracy. That explains, when all is said and done, the political maturity of the Mauritian people." Moreover, he was to point out that several communities live in Mauritius, coming from Europe (French and English), Asia (Indians), Africa (Senegalese, Mozambicans and South Africans), beside which religious diversity freely evolves. "In spite of all this, everything is bathed in peace," the Mauritian minister was pleased to say, describing his country as a little "UN," without falling into any self-satisfaction.

"We believe in freedom of the press; we accept the role of the opposition; we believe in an independent judicial system, and we are for freedom of expression and democracy. We believe in a constitution and we will do everything to protect it. The multiparty system is the only one that is best for Mauritius. That is to tell you that our party does not claim to hold the monopoly of

knowledge or truth; consequently, we do not want to impose our experience on other countries, even if it were desirable. We think that democracy is something living and that it should evolve interdependently with the historical, cultural, geographical and environmental facts. Each country, in my opinion, should find the type of democracy that will be desirable for that country, and it is for the people of that country to make the suitable choice."

Invited to give his viewpoint on the Senegalese system, Bundhun at first insisted on stating that a difference in constitutions existed, "in Mauritius we have a parliamentary regime, while in Senegal there is a presidential regime." Nevertheless, he added, the two countries were linked by many similarities, above all by multiparty thought and respect for the constitution.

Democracy's future in Africa?--The Mauritian Socialist Movement maintains that democracy is the best system of government for a people; but we cannot impose it in a country, for that would be undemocratic. "I believe," our speaker indicated, "that democracy will gain ground in Africa."

Recalling history, Dr Bundhun, who said he had been moved at the time of his visit to Goree, revealed that the first contingent of Negro slaves coming from the island of Goree in 1536, made up basically of 108 Senegalese, set out for Mauritius. "That is to say," he added, "that relations between Senegal and my country are privileged ones: not only from government to government, but from people to people. Which means that Senegalese culture is in the process of greatly enriching Mauritian culture." "And I hope that our relations are going to be expanded in the field of trade, project exchanges and tourism."

With regard to the island of Diego Garcia, occupied by the United States of America, the minister said that his country considered that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace and stated that he was not against the Americans, but logic demanded that the island should be restored to the Mauritians.

Moreover, during his stay in our country, Bundhun had contacts with the Senegalese authorities, particularly President Abdou Diouf, secretary general of the Socialist Party, with whom he discussed bilateral Senegalese-Mauritian problems. In this connection, he disclosed that President Diouf was very satisfied, and both had decided to establish party-to-party relations between the PS and the MSM.

Questioned on Africa's economic situation, he replied that if African countries could cooperate without foreign influences, they would find adequate solutions to these difficulties, for Africa has great potential. "With modern technology and with the help of honest financial institutions," our speaker maintained, "we can always find solutions to problems such as the drought and desertification, for what is involved is seeking methods to fight without provoking ecological and climatic upheavals."

The OAU also held the attention of Dr Bundhun, who suggested that each member country work for the organization, a proceeding that would institute a common policy that would overflow on to international solidarity.

Finally, speaking of his stay in Dakar, the Mauritian representative said he was very satisfied and thanked the Socialist Party, the Senegalese Government, President Abdou Diouf and the Senegalese people who did not spare any effort for the success of the conference. Subsequently, he was to describe President Diouf as "a great statesman"--"I also had the opportunity to meet African friends. Whether we want it or not, we are condemned to stand together. I was very moved when I visited the island of Goree. Slavery will, for all time, be a great shame for mankind. Consequently, we must draw lessons from the past so that we do not have slavery in any other form whatsoever. I also thank Charles Manatt, the United States NDI [expansion unknown] and my friends who took an active part in the Dakar meeting, where we had a discussion through respective experiences for the interest and the greatest good of Africa and the world," concluded Dr Diwakur Bundhun, representative of the Mauritian Socialist Movement to the International Conference on Democracy in Africa.

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CSO: 3410/546



MOZAMBIQUE

ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF MARROMEU DISTRICT NOTED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 4 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] The district of Marromeu is one of the most important ones in the province of Sofala. Located in the north, along the Zambeze River and extending all the way to the Indian Ocean, the district borders on another one which is no less important, that is, the district of Cheringoma. One of the country's most important sugar refineries is located in Marromeu. In addition to the production of sugar from vast cane crop areas, there are various food crops as well as industrial establishments along with animal husbandry. There is also wood production. Another important point in this region's economic life is the wild fauna. The biggest known herd of buffalo is found on the prairies of Marromeu, quite famous all over the world. This is a real treasure of the African forest but it is also an important food source through the diversification of proteins. These are some of the important aspects that prove the importance of Marromeu, which is served by a railroad line that links it to Beira. These are the reasons why Marromeu is one of the preferred targets of the armed bandits against whom the district's population is working with determination and firmness. Proof of this is to be found in news which our reporter Eustacio Baptista brought back from his stay in Marromeu.

Workers Ready to Fight Armed Bandits

The need for boosting vigilance during this phase and the people's readiness to continue the fight until all the armed bandits have been wiped out--these were the most salient points at the meetings held recently in some sections and enterprises in the district of Marromeu, Province of Sofala.

The meetings were a part of the broad process of information dissemination launched by the party and the state concerning the current military situation based on enemy operations in the district of Luabo, Province of Zambezia, on 30 July of this year.

The fundamental objective of the bandits in committing the most inhuman atrocities against the defenseless population was explained in all residential areas where the teams were.

During these meetings, the people were briefed to the effect that the "madjibas" are a complement of the terrorist actions of the bandits. But the military offensive of our forces in the fight to wipe out armed banditry was emphasized.

Before these meetings with the local population, preparatory meetings were held at the CETEMA [expansion unknown] Club which were directed by Paulino Salmone, the Marroneu district administrator.

The meeting was attended by party members and government officials at the district level in addition to the secretaries of the residential sections and the democratic mass organizations. At this meeting, Paulino Salmone presented the guidelines for the work of the teams.

After talking about the importance of this effort, he said that "The present phase requires an energetic fight against any tendency toward a relaxation of vigilance and fighting spirit."

#### More than 1,000 Workers Attend People's Meeting

Parallel to this, an identical meeting was held on 17 August at "Sena Sugar Estates" which was attended by more than 1,000 [as published] workers at this sugar refinery.

The meeting was chaired by Jose Paulo N'Tchumali, member of the Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party and general manager of "SSE" [Sena Sugar Estates] who was accompanied by the first district secretary.

During this meeting--which was convened on the occasion of the ceremonies marking 10 August, the date the enterprise was taken over by the state, the high party and government official who spoke for 2 hours stressed the current military situation in the area and the way in which the workers must fight against armed banditry.

After finishing his address, Jose Paulo N'Tchumali invited the young people to a debate on the topic "Armed Banditry in Mozambique."

The invitation was accepted. On the following day, Sunday, the issue was debated by the young people who filled the auditorium of the CETAMA Club for approximately 10 hours.

#### More than 30 Houses for "Sena Sugar"

The Sena Sugar Estates enterprise in Marroneu this year plans to start work on the construction of 30 prefabricated houses for its workers.

The preliminary work for this project has already been started, in particular, the preparation of the land on which they will be built, as well as the transportation of the sand needed at the chosen site.

According to the information gathered by our reporter from Marcelo Mendes Caiche, PROMAC, the Construction Materials Production Enterprise, with headquarters in the city of Beira, has already shipped to the district a portion of the material intended to make sure that the project will work properly.

According to our source, the only problem that interfered with getting the work started has to do with a portion of the material necessary, although the enterprise has already taken some steps in this matter. "All we need is cement, iron, and lusalite concrete panels," he said.

Then he added: "PROMAC maintains that the material is being shipped and its technicians, who will build two model homes, are also on the way."

According to the terms of the contract signed between the Sena Sugar Enterprise and PROMAC, the construction work on the two model homes has been scheduled for June of this year.

On the other hand, a portion of the material intended for the construction of these housing units will be entirely the responsibility of "SSE."

Marcelo Mendes Caiche explained to us that the 30 houses to be constructed will involve two or three standard types.

#### "Sena Sugar" Helps Victims of Armed Bandits

So far, 200 hectares of land have been distributed. "Sena Sugar Estates" in Marrromeu gave the people, who were recently liberated from the armed bandits, 200 hectares of its land.

This session is intended to improve the family production conditions of those population groups and the areas ceded individually are as much as 1 hectare.

According to Abdala Mussa, an agronomist-engineer who talked to our newspaper, this measure can be explained by the needs of the individuals who in recent months have been crowding into the district seats, coming from areas hit by the criminal operations of the armed bandits in some localities in that part of Sofala.

Due to the action of these bandits, individual production as well as collective production, particularly in the towns of Solone and Maviga, have been harmed. Little or almost nothing was produced until the adoption of this measure.

The people who received land signed development contracts with the enterprise for periods of 2-3 years.

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MOZAMBIQUE

CHIBABAVA DISTRICT PREPARES TO SOLVE MAJOR PROBLEMS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 4 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] Chibabava, a district in the province of Sofala, has displayed great interest in solving the serious problems that beset the country. The territorial plan, which has just been approved, indicates the main directions to be pursued in 1986. It is a plan that covers the areas of defense, economy, organization and mobilization, education and culture, construction and water supply, agriculture and health, among other things. A joint meeting of the committee and the district assembly in Chibabava outlined what the future will be like in this part of the country. Our report Jorge Morais was there and here is his story.

More than five tasks were included in the plan of the Chibabava district government: Sale of farm products and supplies for the people, transportation, investments, food supplies, and labor force--actions which the state proposes to carry out and which were also approved.

The recent approval of the plans of the party and the government in Chibabava was the high point of a series of activities which, for about 15 days, involved workers, party and government officials, members of democratic mass organizations as well as personnel of the defense and security forces. The idea was, on the basis of data collected in the field from the people, to conduct a survey that would make it possible to draft and then to approve PEC/86 [expansion unknown].

Mateus Ressai Saide, the first secretary and administrator of the district of Chibabava, in Sofala, said, in drafting the final considerations, that the plan by itself constitutes a law that has to be carried out. He warned officials that, if they fail to carry the plan out without giving acceptable reasons, they would be punished severely.

Both the party and the government are concentrating major attention on activities relating to the defense of the homeland, the fight against hunger and exposure.

The drafting of the party and government plans was preceded by activity reports delivered by the secretaries of economy, of defense, of organization and mobilization of the district committee, as well as the district directors of education and culture, of health, and of construction and water supply, representing the district government. The agriculture section did not submit its activity report because its director was absent.

The provincial team, which operated in Chibabava in an effort to help the local government agencies in drafting their plan, was thus able to determine the degree of compliance with the activities provided for in the '85 Plan during the first half whose results were not very satisfactory, as had been expected.

#### First Half

Reports presented on the occasion by party and government officials in Chibabava and subsequently submitted for approval showed that most of the planned activities, particularly those contained in the government plan for the first half of 1985, were not carried out.

The lack of accomplishment of the task assigned for the this first half was obvious primarily in the district directorates of agriculture and of construction and water supply. In the latter, the official in charge justified this failure in terms of the inadequacy of work resources and construction materials as well as the manpower shortage, specifically carpenters and bricklayers.

According to discoveries made in Chibabava by our reporter, many works projects are still unfinished after about 3 years. According to the plan, these projects were supposed to have been finished in less than 12 months since material used in the construction of these projects is locally produced--but brick production is very slow.

The provincial team that helped the Chibabava government agencies in drafting their plan concluded after an analysis that the main problem resides in the lack of qualified supervisory personnel, not only in the construction and water section but also in other sectors, although this is where serious operating problems were encountered.

As for agriculture, it was found that areas which had been earmarked for the family sector were beyond the handling capacities of each family.

In addition, the peasants complained that they were sold poor-quality hoes and they lamented the fact that the promised seed shipments had not come through. The district agriculture directorate never managed to meet the requests for seeds from the growers who complained about this.

Final conclusions as to the degree of compliance with the party's plan for this first half indicate that the results are satisfactory at least at the district seat although as of this moment there has been no information from the other towns in the area.

In the field of education and culture, the district official complained about the problem of students who finish the 4th class and who each year do not have a chance of continuing their studies.

This problem goes back many years, according to the official, and sprang from two main factors. The first has to do with the lack of transportation which would make it possible to get the students to class.

The other reason has to do with the lack of coordination between the provincial education and culture directorates in Sofala and the district delegation. The former did not consult the latter on its needs and failed to include them in provincial planning.

#### Ending Starvation

The economy department in Chibabava will not only provide agriculture and ensure the sale of farm products and supplies for the people.

It also seeks to reorganize the existing fishing cooperatives and to establish others where they do not exist, primarily in the areas of Revue and Toronga.

Our reporter learned from Nhica Fernando Languene, the economy secretary of the district committee in Chibabava, that all of the tasks included in the 1986 plan have the single objective of fighting against hunger.

The development of small projects, the preservation of cashew plantations, and the planting of others in all towns in another task which the economy department in Chibabava included in its territorial plan for next year.

In the preservation and planting of cashew trees, major responsibility was assigned to the population who must not confine itself only to gather cashew nuts. The people must also create conditions so that there will be an increase in the output of this strategic product.

The economy plan called for the allocation of crop areas to the people who were recently rescued from the armed bandits so that it might be possible, in another phase, to start making the peasants aware of the situation so that there will be no uncontrolled burning.

In this connection, transport, according to Nhica Languene, the official in charge, will be aimed essentially at shipping commercial products at the district level.

#### Fight for Wellbeing of Rescued Persons

Resources are being mobilized in Chibabava to receive, organize, and provide conditions of wellbeing for citizens who are gradually being liberated from the armed bandits in spite of the various difficulties currently encountered there, this newspaper was told by Mourinho Domingos Luis, the defense secretary of the district committee in Chibabava.

This is in keeping with the guidelines to the effect greater support is to be given to persons who have for a long time been forced to live under the control of the bandits.

Some provincial directorates and other organizations, including the district government agencies themselves, have made efforts to guarantee the wellbeing of the rescued persons, helping them with food, clothing, farm tools, seeds, and many other things they need.

Information collected by our reporter from the Chibabava district defense secretary Mourinho Domingos Luis shows that, during the first half of this year alone, more than 400 persons were rescued in the town of Mexungue. Most of these persons were women and children under the age of 10.

The children are found to be in a serious state of malnutrition and they have various illnesses, specifically, parasitoses. Secretary Mourinho Luis said that both the children and the mothers who have health problems are getting medical assistance at the local health center.

He added that, as people are rescued, they are immediately assigned to collective living facilities in the communal villages, thus permitting the opening of plantations and the construction of their homes with local material.

For the women whose husbands continue to be in the hands of the bandits support in the construction of their homes comes from the other residents through volunteer work days.

According to the secretary, children of school age are beginning to attend the schools and the same is true of adults who attend literacy training and adult education classes. Some of them are registering for self-defense courses, as we were told by Mourinho Luis.

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MOZAMBIQUE

WATER SUPPLY PROJECT FOR GAZA RURAL AREAS EXPANDED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 2 Sep 85 p 10

[Text] An emergency project, financed by UNICEF for the supply of water to the rural areas in the province of Gaza, is being carried out in the district of Chibuto. This project, which in the initial phase will cover a total of 12 communal villages in that district, with an estimated population of 95,000, includes the construction of 30 wells in its plan for the 1985-1986 2-year term.

According to Constantino Machatine, the chief of the support and extension department, provincial directorate of construction and water supply of Gaza, who talked to our reporter recently, UNICEF has already made available to that directorate, for use in this project, some equipment which included a concrete mixer, rubber hoses for motor pumps to clean out the wells during construction, as well as two vehicles, a light vehicle and a heavy one, for material transportation.

Constantino Machatine also said that the emergency project destined for the district of Chibuto included the priority rural communities of Wahamuza, 25 June, Samora Machel, Eduardo Mondlane, Muxuquente, Chipadja, Ngungunyane, 1 June Muxaxane, Acordos de Lusaka, Chibabel, and Coca-Missava. On the other hand, the water supply program for the rural areas of Gaza will call for the assembly and installation of hand pumps in the districts of Xai-Xai, Bilene, and Chokwe. The pumps were donated by India and Holland.

Sector's Outlook

In addition to the implementation of the emergency programs, the water supply sector for the rural areas of the province of Gaza has another plan for the construction of wells and drillholes to tap underground water in the district where the water shortage is most severe. This involves the district of Massingir, Chicualacuala, Manjacaze, Guija, Bilene, and Xai-Xai; a total of 20 wells will be opened.

This plan, which has been in existence since the beginning of this year, covers the villages of Chicualacuala "A", Chimangue, Mavoze, 3rd Congress, Manhica, Zulu, Chitar, Dindiza, Chongoene, and Chicumbane; a decision is still pending on another six localities.



"The number of 50 wells for this year will not be attained for reasons of a technical nature, in other words, the shortage of construction materials such as cement, bricks, and iron," as was emphasized by the official in charge of the support and expansion [as published] sector of the DPC [directorate of construction and water supply].

#### Activities Carried Out in Sector

Between 1975 and 1985, more than 300 wells and about 129 drillholes to tap underground water constructed in the province of Gaza; most of the work was done in Manjacaze, Massingir, Guija, Chibuto, Bilene, Chokwe, and Xai-Xai, according to Constantino Machatine, who reviewed the achievements of the past 10 years. He added that the wells or drillholes that need restoration are fundamentally those which, because of the drought and the deterioration of the subsoil require restoration work and sometimes even the construction of new infrastructures. According to Constantino Machatine, this situation is encountered frequently in the towns of Zongoene, Mangol, Tomanine, Mpelane, and Chate, totalling about 12 drillholes, particularly in the districts of Xai-Xai, Bilene, Guija, and Chokwe.

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MOZAMBIQUE

BIOGAS PRODUCTION PILOT PROJECT

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 30 Aug 85 (FACIM SUPPL) p 1

[Text] The first pilot installation for the production of biogas planned and built entirely in Mozambique using duck manure is on display at FACIM/85 [expansion unknown] in the national pavilion of COMEL (Machine-Building and Electric Power Enterprise) with headquarters in the capital.

This pilot plant is the result of laboratory research done over the past 8 months by the Mozambican chemical engineer by the name of Henrique Lopes.

Future plans call for extending this experiment to areas where beef cattle and hogs are being raised as well as to poultry farming in general; the idea of using garbage collected in the city by the executive council for the production of biogas in the future has likewise not been ruled out.

Project's Importance

Biogas is a mixture of methane ( $\text{CH}_4$ ) and carbon dioxide ( $\text{CO}_2$ ), used in generating electric energy and also as a source of thermal energy for cooking. It is also used in many countries to replace gasoline and diesel fuel for farm tractors and automotive vehicles.

This pilot plant, which is about 2 cubic meters large, is a continuous biogas digester which operates at a temperature of 35 degrees; it is made up of temperature and pressure regulating systems, a gas tank where the gas is stored, and systems for controlling the level of gas produced as well as safety systems.

The only raw material used in producing biogas in this plant is the manure (excrement) of ducks. Right now, the gas produced here is being used for cooking purposes.

As engineer Henrique Lopes, the author of the study, explained, the manure used is the final residue which, resulting from the digestion of material for the production of biogas, is today considered to be an excellent manure [as published].

## Study's Economic Viability

"The economic viability of this project depends on the local possibilities for obtaining energy. Worldwide, there are aviaries which supply their own energy with a plant of this type and which sell the surplus to the standard power grid," engineer Henrique Lopes told us.

Mozambique has an alternative that must be taken into consideration if we realize that there are different centers of animal production which face problems relating not only to thermal energy but also to electric power; they are scattered throughout the rural areas.

"In China, for example, there are today 4 million installations of biodigestors and Brazil has more than 100,000," chemical engineer Henrique Lopes said.

Easily maintained, provided it has been properly designed, a farmer can maintain and operate the plant and its cost is totally paid off in 2 or 3 years.

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MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

MECHANICS FOR MECANAGRO--The personnel force employed in providing technical assistance for agricultural equipment at the MECANAGRO [expansion unknown] enterprise was boosted as a result of the training of more than nine mechanics during a course that ended last Saturday in the city of Maputo. The course was the first of its kind and, in the opinion of its promoters, attained its objectives. The training of mechanics began in September of last year at the MECANAGRO training center in the area of Matola. During that period of time, the trainees were taught Portuguese and mathematics and they also increased their knowledge in their own special field, in other words, mechanics as relating to farm machinery. Center director Isaac Lissenga told us that the recently trained mechanics graduated as 2nd level mechanics and are now able to take apart and assemble a "Fiat" engine in addition to other work connected with engines. During the closing ceremony, which took place Saturday morning at the facilities of the above-mentioned center, Regendra de Sousa, the general manager of the MECANAGRO Enterprise, who presided over the ceremony, addressed the new mechanics and said that "You learned not only how to tighten screws real good but, more than that, you received training that will enable you to work in a workshop. You learned the importance of working in a clean place and the need for conserving work material. Your training is the result of the efforts which MECANAGRO is making to have a personnel force with minimum qualifications." [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 2 Sep 85 p 2] 5058

CSO: 3442/404

NAMIBIA

GRAVE EFFECTS PREDICTED DUE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] WINDHOEK.

Tighter economic sanctions and the growing disinvestment threat against South Africa amid the economic crisis are expected to have grave effects on South West Africa.

The poor value of the rand against the US dollar has pushed up the territory's annual capital redemption and interest servicing of foreign loans by R28,7-million to R227,6-million, according to official estimates.

The SA Reserve Bank Governor, Dr Gerhard de Kock, has found access to foreign capital markets more restrictive for South Africa, and SWA is certain to feel the squeeze.

"When South Africa hiccups, we thrown up," a Windhoek newspaper stated in a recent editorial on the territory's economy.

Not only is direct budget aid from the Republic expected to be sharply curtailed, but SWA may soon find itself unable to obtain foreign loans for development, its loans being underwritten by Pretoria.

This year, the SWA central government budgeted R1 189 million to cover expenditure for the present financial year.

To this amount, South Africa directly contributed R335-million, while a further R250-million was channelled to the SWA treasury in terms of the Southern African Customs Union Agreement.

In total, the territory generated R743/826-million of its own revenue, including the R250-million from the CUA.

A deficit of R146,6-million had to be financed from public loans and overdrafts, which nevertheless represented a reduction of R42,2-million compared to the previous year.

"This loan amount is still too high for SWA's circumstances, and efforts will have to be made in future to reduce it still further," said the finance minister in the transitional government, Mr Dirk Mudge, in his July budget speech.

Last week, he indicated

that SWA had over the years borrowed itself close to the brink of disaster.

"Uncontrolled borrowing could land this country in serious trouble," he told business leaders at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

"We have almost reached that stage and we will have to discipline ourselves," he added.

SWA would have to become increasingly self-sufficient for development capital if it was to offset the effects of the expected marked slowdown in the flow of foreign funds to the territory.

But Mr Mudge discounted the possibility of tax increases for business concerns as a way to raise capital.

"We cannot kill the source of our tax revenue.

Private enterprise should stay in business," he said.

The authorities were investigating the possibility of setting up a development bank or fund to use internally available financial reserves and savings from the private and public sectors to finance government and industrial development.

One such suggested source was the administration for Whites, which had an estimated financial surplus of R175-million.

However, too much money was still leaving SWA, Mr Mudge said. This money "could be used for the development of this country," he added.

Discussing future economic policy, he indicated hard times ahead, including the possible reducing or scrapping of government housing subsidies.

— Sapa.

NIGERIA

FALL OF THE KADUNA MAFIA DOCUMENTED

London TALKING DRUMS in English 16 Sep 85 pp 14, 15

[Text] Tuesday, 27 August 1985 is a date that is likely to prove very significant to Nigerians in more than one respect. First, it was on that day that the tyrant fell. Second, it was the day that signalled the possible downfall of that group of people always reputed to be behind the throne in Nigeria for many years -- the Kaduna Mafia.

About the fall of Major General "Dan Buzu," we shall have plenty of time to talk about that, the world will come to know the crook and terrorist that Buhari was.

Today we examine the Kaduna Mafia — Buhari's private Councillors. First, who are they? They are an amorphous group of pretenders who survive only on their ability to cling to whoever is in power until they suck him dry and he drops dead.

The first time they came into the limelight was during Obasanjo's regime. General Murtala Mohammed knew them so well and did not allow them to come near him. He had the greatest contempt for them.

With the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed, General Obasanjo took over as Head of State.

Shehu Musa Yar' Adua, then a Brigadier, later promoted to Major General, was appointed as Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters. Major General (rtd.) Shehu Yar' Adua was more or less Murtala's boy and he it was who spearheaded the coup d'etat that toppled General Gowon and brought Murtala to Nigeria's Military throne. Hence the choice of Shehu Yar' Adua to the exalted position of Chief of Staff, a consolation to the Hausa Moslems from where assassinated Murtala Mohammed hailed.

Shehu Yar' Adua immediately saw himself as a representative of the Hausa Moslems and a defender of their interest, by his own interpretation. He quickly gathered around him some people on whom he believed he could absolutely rely and so guarantee to General Obasanjo the loyalty of the North. With General T. Y. Danjuma as a minority Christian from Wukari, then part of Benue, the arrangement to ensure Northern loyalty seemed complete.

The people that Shehu Yar' Adua collected around him were: Mamman Daura who was his good friend and kinsman, both having hailed from the Katsina/Daura locality. Mamman Daura then invited and introduced

Adamu Ciroma who was his predecessor as Editor of the *New Nigerian*. Of course, Mamman Daura remained eternally grateful to Adamu Ciroma who, after retiring from *New Nigerian Newspapers* put in a good word for his

friend Mamman to succeed him.

The next person that was pulled in to the cult was Musa Bello from Yola who was an under secretary (deputy permanent secretary) in the Government of the defunct Northern Region. Musa Bello then extended an invitation into the cult to his friend and kinsman Mahmud Tukur, now called Dr. Mahmud Tukur — Buhari's import licence minister. Mahmud Tukur who was at that time teaching at the Institute of Administration, brought into the group people like Abubakar Koko from Sokoto and Abubakar Yaya who was later moved to the Cabinet office to provide real anchor for the group's activities as a kitchen cabinet.

Through Mahmud Tukur, another Bororo from Gombe by name of Sule Kumbo came into the fold. The group then recruited Shehu Malami from Sokoto, a traditional title holder of Sarkin Sudan but more of a businessman, a close associate of every man who was ever in power right from General Ironsi.

Then came in the "Super-Famous-Perm-Sec." Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji. As a civil servant in the Ministry of Finance, Abubakar Alhaji was particularly useful to their plan. Later on, lesser persons were drawn into the fold but they remained mainly in the background. These included: Turi Muhammadu from Bida, in-law to Adamu Ciroma and successor of Mamman Daura as Editor of *New Nigerian*; Tanko Kuta from Kuta in Niger State; Aliko Mohammed from Misau; Hamza Zayyad from Katsina and Aminu Wali from Kano, all of them revolving around the Chief of Staff — Shehu Yar' Adua.

Sani Zangron Daura and Ismalia Isa Funtua were brought in to serve the role of spreading the group's gospel. This was the "Sharri" group that surrounded the then Chief of Staff, posing, by their own definition, as defenders and promoters of the interests of the North.

With time and as they grew in strength and as their tentacles spread everywhere, they came to be nicknamed the *Kaduna Mafia*. The choice of the word 'Mafia' was because of their clannish loyalties and Kaduna

served as their capital or as the bastion of their power.

Now, within the Army, who were their associates? Everyone knows the closeness of Yar' Adua to Buhari — the "Dan Buzu" tyrant. Without Yar' Adua as Chief of Staff, there was no way that Buhari could have been appointed as the Federal Commissioner for Petroleum and Energy.

Major General Magoro and Air what-have-you Muktar Mohammed, were also an extension of the Mafia group. There are one or two others but these are inconsequential.

For the first time then, this shadowy group have been mentioned by name so the guessing game can now end. It is in everybody's interest to remove their mystical mask so that we can all see them. They have no one and represent no North.

One can now proceed to examine their political roles and philosophies and the way they have operated.

When General Obasanjo was in power, the group, using Chief of Staff Major General Shehu Yar' Adua, held Obasanjo to ransom. They dictated the names of those to be appointed from the North. They *were* the North! Those who were not in their good books could not get a look-in. Probes were set up by their chosen friends as chairman of panels as well as members. The idea was to come out with reports that would indict their enemies and opponents.

Thus because of their hold on General Obasanjo, the Kaduna Mafia got themselves and their friends nominated to the CDC, the Constitution Drafting Committee 1977-78.

So they were the "capable brains" to draft the constitution for Nigeria.

The plan was that from that first step they would move to the next until finally there would be a swap of power. They would be slotted *in* while their military friends would phase out. Thus their secrets would remain as *secrets*.

The plan was that the Kaduna Mafia would identify two people from each state and Yar' Adua would influence Obasanjo to appoint them to the Constituent Assembly as representing the Government. It was the group made up of two from each state that

would form the nucleus of the political group that would emerge so as to throw their weight behind one of them — who had presidential ambitions. With that achieved, Yar' Adua would then be safe in retirement or be subsequently appointed as the Minister of Defence.

There were hitches, however, that made it difficult for the plan to work and in fact it was those hitches that ultimately frustrated the Kaduna Mafia and exposed them. First they did not know exactly what to do with General T.Y. Danjuma and people like Babangida (at that time a Brigadier).

The Kaduna Mafia did not trust them sufficiently to expose to them the *real* plan. At the same time it was feared the plan would not completely work with these two people and a few others totally left in the dark since they too were (and are) Northerners with completely equal claim. The second hitch came when the results of elections into the Constituent Assembly were known. They were based on an individual merit, not political parties as there were none at the time.

The masses voted for their true sons as their representatives and the kind of people who won were not with the Kaduna Mafia. In particular, President Shehu Shagari was elected from Shagari in Sokoto and Umaru Dikko was elected by the people of Kaduna and B/Gwari Districts. There were many others who were of independent minds and when they arrived at the Hall of the Constituent Assembly, the Mafia soon found itself in disarray.

Even when the Mafia tried to steal the show by bringing up the topic of *Shari'a*, they bungled. Had the matter been handled with political sagacity, the result would not have been so humiliating to the delegates from the Northern states. How the Constituent Assembly was dissolved is another story, long and interesting but perhaps not so relevant to the present topic.

When ultimately the military permitted political activity and party formation, the Kaduna Mafia poured into the National Party of Nigeria with the hope and belief that they could wrangle the nomination of the party in favour of their candidate on whose behalf the

Chief of Staff was almost openly campaigning. Luckily, the people saw through this and at the Party Convention, the Kaduna Mafia candidate came *third*. Alhaji Maitama Sule beat him to snatch second place, while Shagari became the NPN's Presidential Candidate.

President Shagari, with his style of live and let live, his policy of compromise even with a declared enemy, appealed to all to team up and work together. The Kaduna Mafia within the NPN continued to fight until their defeated candidate became the Acting General Secretary of the NPN.

Even with Shagari having bent over backwards to placate and accommodate them, they were dissatisfied and when the 1983 elections approached, they signed a secret pact with Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Presidential Candidate of the UPN. And yet in the open they remained members of the NPN — enough to prove to anyone the kind of people they were! Anyway, you should read what Chief Awolowo said about his brief honeymoon with that lot. His description of them was one of the most perfect.

So they were *with* President Shagari and *against* President Shagari. They were so good at this double game. They did everything to undermine him and since they were in league with some newspaper proprietors they had a field-day. But they flopped because the masses were and up till tomorrow they are, for Shagari, given a free hand.

One important and very pertinent question needs to be asked. Why did the Kaduna Mafia try to undermine President Shagari? The issue goes further than their fair weather arrangement with Chief Awolowo.

Why did this clique connive in the overthrow of a regime in which they participated? The answer in a nutshell is: Because they do not believe that anybody from the South should ever be *elected* to the Presidency of Nigeria.

The Kaduna Mafia became fully convinced that within the NPN, people like the President himself, Umaru Dikko, Isyaku Ibrahim and many others sincerely believed and openly pronounced that the Presidency should rotate.



They said that the zoning arrangement within the NPN must itself be rotational and that at the end of Shagari's second and final term, the Presidential Candidacy should move to the South. They maintained that the basis of coming together to form a National Party in Nigeria was to ensure equal opportunity for all sections. The Kaduna Mafia did NOT believe in this! In their view it must all the time be someone from the NORTH to whom they could cling and wield influence in the name of their selfishly defined North.

When they saw that President Shagari would not budge from his principle, they started their usual game. They began to spread that he did not care any more and so called their military friends to rise up in arms against the democratically elected civilian government of President Shehu Shagari.

With the overthrow of their man — Buhari — it is likely they would want to strike again. But the joy in this is that the present Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida knows them and we believe will be equal to the task, just as Murtala Muhammed was.

CSO: 3400/32

NIGERIA

CAUTION URGED IN IMF NEGOTIATIONS

London TALKING DRUMS in English 9 Sep 85 p 8

[Article by Maigani: "Nigeria and the IMF"]

[Text]

In his address to the nation having accepted an "invitation" to lead the country, General Ibrahim Babangida — President-General Bagangida if you like — stressed emphatically that the last 20 months the nation had been under the tyrannical rule of General "Dan Buzu" (this name sounds very musical) did not witness any significant changes in the national economy. Said he: "contrary to expectations, we have so far been subjected to a steady deterioration in the general standard of living and intolerable suffering by the ordinary Nigerian has reached unprecedented heights. Prices of goods and equipments have risen higher, scarcity of commodities has increased, hospitals remain mere consulting clinics while educational institutions are on the brink of total decay. Unemployment has stretched to critical dimensions . . ." Sounds like very familiar words, but never mind.

Taking a step further, the General then proceeded to enumerate the country's fundamental problems which are seen to revolve around the following identifiable contradictions: (a) a decrease of the country's domestic production while the population continues to increase; (b) dependence on imports for both consumer goods and raw materials for the country's industries; (c) a grossly unequal gap between the rich and the poor; (d) the large role played by the public sector in economic activity with hardly any concrete results to justify such a role.

Okay, these are the problems. So what needs to be done? Two policy options or alternative routes exist. Nigeria could embark on a national economic management *WITHOUT* external support, or a national economic management *WITH* external support. If the former, then Nigeria would have no need for those endless talks with such arrogant and unfeeling bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. If the later, then the country would have no option other than reaching a negotiable agreement and submission to the IMF conditions. Both options have far reaching implications.

To decide to pursue national economic management without the IMF implies that Nigeria's new set of military leaders shall be compelled to continue presently existing measures of retrenchment and risk escalation of unemployment; increase austerity measures since Nigeria, and, indeed, the leaders do not control and cannot adjust to international economic conditions, mainly because the oil market is unpredictable and is likely to continue to deteriorate. In other words, the country will continue to operate on an ad hoc and non-strategic arrangement. This type of arrangement is called, in economic terms, "planlessness arrangement."

To resort to economic management with the help of the IMF will involve going strictly by the IMF conditions.

Some of these conditions, already rejected by the Buhari regime include: (1) an exchange rate adjustment or Naira devaluation; (2) removal of petroleum subsidies. The main reason behind this demand by the IMF is that subsidisation encourages high energy consumption, the cost of which the consumer is not adequately paying for; (3) Trade liberalisation. On the surface, this implies an opening up of the Nigerian market to foreign goods. The implication opponents of IMF fear is that by accepting the conditions of the IMF it would mean a foreign organ or body is forcing Nigeria — a whole giant of Africa — to take certain measures considered “anti-nationalistic” and which are bound to cause social and political unrest. Does that remind you of WAI spirit?

Talking tough, General Babangida admitted that even though Nigeria's application for an IMF loan was made in April 1983, no progress has as yet been made in the negotiations “and a stalemate has existed for the last two years.” Then in his characteristic military fashion he added: “We shall break the deadlock that frustrated the negotiations with a view to evaluating more objectively both the positive and negative implications of reaching agreement with the Fund . . . At all times in the course of our discussions, our representatives will be guided by the feelings and aspirations of the Nigerian people . . .” Soon after the speech, the western media were already saying that Babangida is now ready to accede to the demands of the International Monetary Fund.

I am not an economist so I am not in

a position to offer an expert advise. Over the years, however, African nations have gone cap in hand to the IMF for redemption. I am not sure which of those countries indeed got redeemed. There are talks that Jerry Rawlings' Ghana is now a better place to be in — thanks to the IMF. I am not in a position to know. Nigeria right now cannot by any standard, be considered a poor nation. No matter the foreign debts owed (debts do not kill afterall), the country's human and material resources are enough assets to take care of any such loans. We could even refuse to pay! Good management of what is available has always been the country's main problem. If the country gets an additional \$2.8 billion from the IMF and the money is not properly managed, it will be of no use.

General Babangida seems the kind of person that has enough managerial skills (he has *managed*, so say the foreign press, to be involved in four coups in Nigeria!). If his regime can be truly and sincerely opened to public accountability then the nation's present economic resources are enough to see the nation through the woods. But if an IMF loan had to be taken at all, then the AFRC (Armed Forces Ruling Council) should call for a public debate on the matter and try to get the common consensus and consent of the people. It is the only way to guarantee the workability of the Fund because then, people would really be ready for the structural readjustment requested by the IMF, and so would not complain if any hardships should spring up from the IMF package later on.

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

PRINCIPAL STAFF OFFICER APPOINTED--A new principal general staff officer has been appointed at the General Staff Headquarters, Dodan Barracks. He is Navy Captain Suleiman Saidu, who, until his appointment, was the deputy director, state administration, in the defunct Supreme Headquarters. Captain Saidu replaces Lt Col Dokun Gbadebo who has been retired. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Sep 85 AB]

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

GERMAN OPINION LEADER PESSIMISTIC ON RESOLUTION OF CRISIS

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 6 Sep 85 p 1

[Commentary by Countess Marion Doenhoff: "Too Little, Too Late, Too Ineffectual. The South African Government Cannot Continue to Refuse Serious Reforms"]

[Text] South Africa's dilemma? The fact that the country has lived for 50 years in the lee of history while the rest of us were buffeted by the storm. The distance between South Africa at the end of the 20th century and the spirit of the times ruling elsewhere is as if the FRG after 1945 had introduced the pre-democratic three-class electoral system.

Some people object: "But the majority of the population doesn't make decisions in Black African states, either..." By your leave: that is a misleading statement, since South Africa rejects strenuously being compared with them in other areas. Botha's state must bear being judged by the standards of the western world.

The South African republic is a prime example of how chances can be missed in history, i.e., that a development not started at the right time can never be made up, or only at great cost. Even in 1976, after the bloody riots in Soweto, it would have been possible to systematically take small steps toward the great goal of a multiracial society. At that time, Blacks would still have been grateful for any improvement; today, young Blacks have become so radicalized through the mercilessly stubborn policy of the government and the brutal despotism of the police that it seems almost impossible that rational agreements can still be attained.

What Can Be Expected of Sanctions?

Pragmatic solutions are far out of reach. The awareness and attitudes of all parties involved have become emotional to a point of absurdity: European countries use the occasion to gain status in domestic politics, or they feel they must outdo each other in the competition for exhibiting their moral indignation; the Pretoria government is afraid of losing its authority if it does not back up its slogan: "We shall never yield to force," and "We do not tolerate outside interference;" and lastly, representatives of black labor unions do not dare admit publicly that they don't think much of sanctions.

At the world congress of the International Metal Workers' Association in Tokyo in June of this year, apartheid in all its aspects--arrests, massacres, jailings, repressions--was condemned, but not a word was said about divestments because the trade unions, although individual ones keep complaining in public opinion polls, consider multinational enterprises the pioneers of their progress.

Actually, the discussions on sanctions are only shadowboxing at this point: none of the threatened measures, were they to be carried out, could worsen the effects of the crisis that has befallen South Africa. Capital flees the country, foreign currency trading was halted, the Rand dropped by one-third in a few weeks, the stock exchange had to be closed down temporarily, the Central Bank president hurriedly traveled to London and Washington because reserves are rapidly running out. In view of this setting, sanctions would hardly impress the government.

One must ask in general if economic sanctions are a) effective, b) appropriate. Effective they are evidently not. The massive threats that were discussed for months did not cause Botha to make concessions in his speech of 15 August. And their appropriateness is more than questionable, since only a prospering economy can raise the financial expenditures necessary to decisively improve the situation of the Blacks.

Lastly, the Whites, many of whom are against apartheid--the opposition party, those organized in the UDF, church people, and an increasing number of students; all in all, 20 to 25 percent of Whites--are not exactly inspired by crisis and collapses of all sorts in their struggle against apartheid and for liberalization.

The call for sanctions actually serves only the moral self-satisfaction of him who makes it. The revolt of Blacks in the interior and the pressure of its own industry, including the subsidiaries of European and U.S. companies, have a much greater impact on the government than threats from outside. In an official declaration in January of this year, industry and businessmen for the first time made six demands on the government which amount to abolition of apartheid. On the eve of Prime Minister Botha's speech, the Foundation of South Africa raised very similar demands--its president is Harry Oppenheimer, its vice president, Anton Ruppert, two giants of industry. And lastly, in the past week the central associations of South African industry, representing 70 percent of industry and trade, again appealed to the political leadership to take measures to abolish apartheid: "Our survival depends on the implementation of necessary structural changes."

Perhaps it would be more meaningful to impose positive conditions rather than pronouncing negative threats. That is, don't say "no credits," but rather: "You'll get credits, but only if you in turn build schools in black townships." Or: "We will not cancel the cultural agreement if exhibits and films are also accessible to Blacks." The Deutsche Bank is exemplary in this respect, having granted DM 180 million in credits to Soweto for road construction and electrification.

There are two reasons which make South Africa's problem appear almost hopeless. Firstly, the governing party adheres to the erroneous belief that the uprising of the Blacks is the work of communists--as if it needed communists to make Blacks aware of their bleak situation. This fallacy induces Botha not to seek refuge in negotiations, in the effort to bring about a consensus, but rather in ever more force and suppression. In his speech on 15 August he said: "On the one hand, we are witnessing the development of a peaceful constitutional change by this government; on the other hand, we see a process of unrest, aggression and anarchy, instigated by forces who want brutal revolution." No one can describe better in one sentence how fundamentally wrong is this analysis of the crisis.

Secondly, it is the lack of a concept which, time and again, makes the government take measures that do not go together. One example: in the late 1960's, Pretoria decided to prohibit any new construction in certain black townships because it believed it could stop a further black influx in this manner. The result: houses were overcrowded to the bursting point and deteriorated more and more. Now the government has decided--as a consolation prize for the fact that Blacks were passed over in the new constitution--to hand over to them communal administration in the townships. It gave them the responsibility, but without the necessary finances. The result: the black mayors, confronted with a thousand demands because of run-down apartments, saw no other possibility but to raise rents. So the uprising came.

#### The Clock Was Stopped

What can be done in this muddled situation? Outsiders often imagine the answer to this question to be quite simple: a minority has all the rights, the majority has none, therefore power must be distributed and democratic voting rights must be introduced. They overlook the fact that this would have the same effect today as if, from one day to the next, one were to give the Turks in Kreuzberg [a sector of Berlin] the administration of the Berlin metropolis. And as for the Whites, they consider the situation, existing for generations, simply as God-given and quite natural. They must first learn to think differently.

History is a process of constant change. The South Africans, however, have simply stopped the clock, and if they are to switch overnight, it would be the same as if in Hamburg or New York right-side traffic were switched to the left, from Sunday to Monday. There would probably be collisions.

But now it is high time, nay very high time, to make a new start. It is to be hoped that the journey of the three EC ambassadors--as the last link in a long chain of efforts--has made it clear that Europe's understanding of Pretoria's attitude has been exhausted. What must be done, first of all? The leaders of the Blacks must be set free. They must no longer sit in prisons, they must finally sit at the conference table.

SOUTH AFRICA

TRANSCAAL CONGRESS DELEGATE CRITICIZES BLACKS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 21 Aug 85 p 10

[Article by Political Editorial Staff: "Blacks 'Are Like Children'"]

[Text] Pretoria -- Blacks are like children and their culture consists only of "sex and nothing more." These people also cannot think for themselves, Mr A. Marx, a delegate at the CP's [Conservative Party] Transvaal congress, said here yesterday.

Mr Marx was taking part in discussing an agenda point on endorsing the CP policy on white sovereignty. The black man is different from the Whites. They are like children, he said. The Whites must have a culture in South Africa in addition to territory. "Do you know what black culture is? You townspeople do not know. The hard fact is we have to look what the black man's culture is. The black man's whole life revolves around one word -- sex -- and nothing more." Mr Marx said the black man cannot think ahead. "He thinks in one dimension where you think in three dimensions."

The white man has to establish an economy for the black man because he cannot do it himself. "He can't even make a 'bicycle' in Africa. We have to create an economy for him; we have to create work opportunities for him; we have to arrange everything for him. We have to show him what discipline is. He no longer has that. The cause of the stone-throwing is the children who do not have fathers," Mr Marx said. About chief minister Mangosotho Buthelezi of kwaZulu, Mr Marx said: "Buthelezi jumps around there among his people with his loincloth between his legs, but on TV he appears with a black suit. He does not want to be elected. He believes in status."

Another delegate, Mr C. De Beer, later said it is dangerous to ascribe certain characteristics to all Blacks. It can cause the CP a lot of harm. Yet another delegate said the "blind breeding" of Blacks should be curbed. They should be persuaded that smaller families are also to their own advantage.

When Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, gave a reply to the discussion, he said: "So, here and there an idiom was used which I think we should disregard. In general, I think the drift of the discussion is in the same direction."

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CSO: 3401/302



SOUTH AFRICA

BLACKS EXPECTED TO SUFFER MOST FROM BOYCOTT OF WHITE STORES

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 21 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by chief reporter: "Coloreds Are Going to Suffer Under Boycott"]

[Text] Black and colored consumers are going to suffer the most under the boycott of white stores, which is now being supported and announced by more than a dozen organizations. It is being made increasingly difficult for consumers not to support the boycott. This emerged yesterday from talks with spokesmen for organized commerce and with members of the public. The boycott is being announced to back appeals for lifting the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the withdrawal of the police and Defense Force from black residential areas.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce said in a statement that the proponents of consumer boycotts must realize that if they succeed many people may lose their work, and their families their source of income. Mr Peter Hugo, vice-chairman, said the Chamber has observed the response to recent appeals. So far there are locally no signs that the boycott has had any success. He thinks it is "because the man in the street knows that merchants cannot bear the blame for the country's political evils. Contrary to what some people claim, businessmen were in the vanguard with steps to eliminate racial discrimination in South Africa."

Mr Jan Cloete, chairman of the Afrikaner Chamber of Commerce in Cape Town, said people are now going to pay more dearly for the same goods at another store; goods which they must buy in any case and which, ironically enough, were still perhaps produced by an Afrikaner company.

The chairman of the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johan Braesler, said the consumer is going to suffer the most under the boycott. Stores in colored and black areas do not always have the price advantage of large supermarkets.

According to Mr Trevor Manuel, district secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), over the weekend there was an overall decline in the number of black customers at white stores and an attendant increase at the black stores. The UDF is one of 14 organizations supporting and encouraging the boycott.

Mr Cloete says he does not think the boycott is going to "make a formidable impression" in the cities. It will perhaps have a greater effect in the countryside, where the consumers can be "better controlled." MR Braesler said there is "a mild form of intimidation" to discourage consumers from buying at white stores. For example, store entrances are blocked to customers and people are warned not to buy.

Mrs Margareth Taushe, a domestic from Stellenbosch who is married to a black man, told DIE BURGER she heard a small group of black women on the train after work express their concern about the boycott. They are now also being told that they should not work for Whites, but rather for Coloreds.

Rev. Sakkie Mentor, moderator of the NG [Dutch Reformed] Mission Church, who was commenting in his personal capacity, said that apart from the fact that the consumers will suffer under a boycott, "the bread can later be taken from the mouths of workers and their families" because their employers will later be forced to discharge them if the boycott succeeds.

13084

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SOUTH AFRICA

# BLACK BUSINESSES SEEK CASH RELIEF AFTER UNREST

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 85 p 4

[Text]

BLACK business leaders yesterday appealed to the Government to set up a special fund to assist Black businesses hit by the continuing unrest.

A delegation led by the president of the National Association of African Chamber of Commerce Mr Sam Motsuenyane, met the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the proposal.

At a brief Press conference afterwards, the Nafcoc leader said the Minister had indicated he could give no commitments at this stage, but that the talks had been "promising".

Mr Heunis had been informed of the situation in certain areas where Black businesses had been hit by unrest, and his attention drawn to the fact that this was "continuing to escalate".

"We asked the Government to create a fund to assist in the resuscitation of those businesses that have been destroyed," Mr Motsuenyane said.

Mr Heunis had requested that Nafcoc conduct an investigation to determine the extent of damage and also the issue of insurance.

Nafcoc had already appointed a commission of inquiry along these lines and the matter would be treated as priority, hopefully with results in a few weeks time.

Mr Heunis reiterated he had not been able to give any commitments at this stage, but that he had undertaken to talk to insurance companies on the matter of Black businessmen who were unable to insure their businesses for financial reasons.

Asked about the extent of damage to Black business so far, Mr Motsuenyane, said preliminary indications were that Natal had been hardest hit, but that businesses in the PWV area and the Eastern Cape were also suffering.

Mr Heunis also said he had explained to the delegation that the State President's Fund, established to help victims of terrorism in South Africa was a "possible source of relief," for Black businessmen. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/15

JPRS-SSA-85-100  
17 October 1985

SOWETAN REQUEST TO SEE MANDELA TURNED DOWN

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Sep 85 p 4

[Text]

THE South African Prisons Service has turned down an application by the Sowetan newspaper to visit ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC leader, Zeph Mothopeng in prison.

Mandela is serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town and Mothopeng 15 years in the Johannesburg Prison near Soweto.

The chief liaison officer of the Prison Services, Lt-Col Danie Immelman, telephoned the Sowetan yesterday with his department's decision.

The newspaper sent the request on August 26 and two days later received a telex acknowledging receipt of the letter.

Mandela, who has been in jail for the past 21 years, has been interviewed in jail by foreign journalists.

In January, Mandela gave his first Press interview since his conviction when he was visited by British Conservative Party peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell. The inter-

view was spread across two pages of a London newspaper.

In July, the Prisons Service allowed South African newspapers to use an interview that Mandela had with Professor Samuel Dash of Georgetown University in the United States.

No newspaper has ever interviewed Mothopeng since his conviction in the Bethal PAC trial in 1979.

In the application for the interviews, the Sowetan pointed out that newspapermen from abroad had interviewed Mandela.

Meanwhile, Mandela is receiving medical treatment prescribed for him by a urologist, a Prisons Department spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman would not say whether Mandela, who has an enlarged prostate gland and cysts on his liver and right kidney, was receiving treatment in hospital or prison.

Mandela has been advised to have his prostate removed, according to his family. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/25

SOUTH AFRICA

# POSSIBLE SPLIT WITHIN GOVERNMENT OVER NKOMATI

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Paul Bell, political correspondent]

[Text] **I**T CANNOT be denied that South Africa has been quick to admit its breach of the Nkomati Accord. The problem is: will Mozambique accept Pik Botha's explanation that it was done in the interest of reconciliation between Frelimo and Renamo?

Botha's admission, and the alacrity with which government investigated Mozambique's allegations, illustrates that SA — if its intentions were as honourable as Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan claim them to be — is at least guilty of a footfault.

The unsuspecting would be hard put to find a deeper motive behind Botha's apparently sincere explanation of how government has supported the Accord yet simultaneously breached it.

He and Malan both indicated that stability in Mozambique was of paramount importance to both countries, and that it would therefore not make sense to re-play the destabilisation game by covertly supplying Renamo.

If Frelimo lost Maputo, they would take to the bush and fight it out. In which case, there would be no guarantee that the relative security of the South African border against ANC incursions — achieved by SA through the Accord — could be maintained.

**B**ut there are questions that remain unanswered, which sug-

gest that a double game is being played. Even more disturbing is the possibility that the game is not being played out simply between SA, the Mozambique government and Renamo, but within the ranks of our own government and its military/intelligence communities.

There is also growing speculation among observers that, over the past two months, Pik Botha has been subtly set up as the Cabinet fall-guy in a power struggle which has the State Presidency as its ultimate prize.

In the context of this row with Mozambique, it must be at least possible — albeit by no means proven — that there are factions within government unhappy with the Accord, and acting (pardon the pun) accordingly ...

Last weekend, Botha was called by a senior member of the Mozambican cabinet and asked to come to see President Samora Machel in Maputo. Botha was at first reluctant, because of other commitments, but when the minister pressed on him the urgency of the matter he cleared it with the State President and flew in on Monday.

Machel produced a diary captured by Frelimo troops when, with the aid of Zimbabwean troops, they flushed Renamo out of its Gorongosa mountain stronghold late last month.

Government credibility, at this early stage, rests on its ability to provide some credible, detailed answers to the more obvious questions raised by the diary.

□ QUESTION: if Mozambique was aware in general terms of a peace initiative and approved of it — as SA has indicated — how come that government has reacted so hotly to the contents of the diary?

It has interpreted the actions as a breach of the Accord, so much so that Machel apparently even wanted to suspend the activities of the Joint Security Commission, established to monitor observance of the Accord.

□ QUESTION: why, if some parts of the diary are accurate, should others not be? Botha was at pains to stress that the diary was written in a language that even two SADF Portuguese-speaking officers had difficulty in translating, and that the transcripts should not be regarded as the last word on the accuracy of the statements in the entries.

He couldn't say if the diary was genuine, but it *looked* so. For example, descriptions of meetings between Renamo, himself and Malan in Pretoria late last year were a brief but fairly accurate portrayal of what the ministers had told Renamo.

**H**e was disclosing the contents of the diary and his discussions with Maputo at this stage in case Maputo came up with further allegations, because they were still studying the mass of documentation that had been captured at Gorongosa.

□ QUESTION: why did deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel fly to Gorongosa — as a diary entry of June 14 this year confirms — without telling Botha he was going? Botha says Nel later explained that he had done so to prevent Botha from cancelling

the trip through fears for Nel's safety. The trip was to promote a fresh round of talks between Frelimo and the rebels, says Botha.

But surely, if the SADF flew him in, then Malan must have known? In which case, why didn't Malan tell Botha?

□ QUESTION: can Malan be believed when he says — or, for that matter, can he believe *his officers* when they tell him — that the SADF remains actively loyal and supportive of the Accord. He says they actively supported the peace process when they could have remained neutral.

**B**ut the diary refers to messages between SADF officers, including SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, and Gorongosa, in which disparaging remarks were made about Botha and members of the government, purporting to convey that SADF officers did not agree with the Accord and the role government was playing in the peace process.

The officers, Botha said, categorically deny sending any such messages to Renamo. The problem here is two-fold. Any admission by the officers would be highly unlikely in the first place.

But, in the event that they should make such admissions, government could never be expected to disclose this, simply because it would illustrate that the Union Buildings — or part of it — is not entirely in control of DHQ.

□ QUESTION: why should the diary be right about the flights and the talks in Pretoria and Gorongosa and wrong about the supply of arms and ammunition said to have been brought in on those flights, and the need to secure drop-zones?

SOUTH AFRICA

UK MAY HAVE BREACHED ARMS EMBARGO

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 9

[Text]

**LONDON —** The British government has launched a confidential inquiry to establish whether the export to South Africa of a sophisticated radar system breached an international arms embargo, government sources said yesterday.

The sources said the Defence Ministry was checking whether the AR3D system, produced by the giant communications company Plessey, was being used by the South African army, contravening a 1977 United Nations arms embargo fully backed by Britain.

In the meantime, they said, the Trade Ministry had refused to grant the company's application for an export licence to update the system, which it began supplying in 1981.

Defence experts said the system, one of the most sophisticated in the world, had both military and civilian uses. Until recently, the government maintained that the South Africans were using it solely for civilian air traffic control.

But suspicions were aroused when it became known that South Africa was receiving mobile radar units, suggesting that they were being used by the military, the experts said.

Plessey yesterday issued a brief statement saying: "This is an air traffic control system which was sold in the 1970s with the full approval of the British government."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement said it photographed units of the system being loaded on to South African transport planes at Hurn Airport in south England in 1981.

Its spokesman, Mike Terry, accused the government of violating the arms

embargo by allowing the exports to continue.

"This is precisely the kind of equipment South Africa desperately needs to support its incursions into Angola and Mozambique," he said.

Hurn Airport administrator, D C Taylor, said yesterday the most recent shipment had left last March.

In 1980, Britain vetoed a United Nations security council resolution seeking to include all radar systems within the terms of the arms embargo.

The authoritative guide "Jane's Weapons Systems" describes the AR3D as an air defence radar system giving three-dimensional information on targets.

Two systems were successfully used by British forces in the 1982 Falklands campaign against Argentina.

The system has an effective range of 400km against high-flying planes and can be used as a radar reporting post or command post, Jane's says.

A Plessey spokesman said the original sale had the full approval of the Labour government of the day.

Since then, consignments of the multi-million-dollar equipment, much of it made by Plessey Radar, had been flown out in Hercules transport planes from Hurn Airport.

The spokesman said the company would not comment on allegations that the equipment was being used for South Africa's air defence system which is said to have combat uses.

He said the last dispatch of radar equipment had been in March. — Sapa-Reuter.

□ Spokesmen for Armscor were not available for comment last night.

SOUTH AFRICA

## BLACK TEACHERS' LIVES INCREASINGLY ENDANGERED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Sep 85 p 11

[Article by Susan Fleming, education reporter]

[Text]

**The mounting unrest and increasing class boycotts have made life difficult — and sometimes dangerous — for teachers at black schools.**

A teacher at a secondary school in Soweto, who recently gained a high degree in education from a university (we will call him "Mr Kaiser"), described what is going on in black schools as "nerve-racking and frustrating".

"We don't know whether we are coming or going. The trouble has been going on for too long," he said.

Many of the teachers in Soweto are in fear of their lives. On September 3 the homes of two teachers at Madibane High School were attacked.

They were believed to be the first on a "hit list" said to have been drawn up by pupils after some of them had been punished at the school.

"It is sometimes life-threatening to be a teacher," said "Mr Kaiser".

"If you are seen as working with the system, you can have your house burnt, and if the police believe you may be working with the children, then you risk detention."

### ENORMOUS DILEMMA

Teachers do not know which way to turn. They have to satisfy the demands of the pupils, parents, the education authorities and the police — at the same time.

"Teachers are faced with an enormous dilemma. If pupils feel teachers are not playing their game, then the teachers' lives are threatened. On the other hand, the police often feel teachers influence the pupils.

"Then, parents feel the teachers should be the saviour of their children, while the authorities demand that the teachers be loyal to them."

Teachers have to make difficult decisions for their pupils. For example, many teachers have recommended that children should not wear uniforms or carry books to school.

"If you tell them to wear uniforms, they will be victimised by the children who are boycotting, and if they do not wear uniforms they will be picked up and arrested by the police, who will think they are boycotting. We have told our children that wearing a uniform is optional."

Though upset and frustrated by what is going on in the schools, "Mr Kaiser" said he would carry on and do his best — and hope that one day the situation will return to normal.

### DROPPING MORALE

After the 1976 riots, hundreds of teachers resigned either because of pressure from the pupils or in sympathy with what had happened to the pupils. "Mr Kaiser" was one who resigned, but he said it was unlikely the same situation would occur this year.

"To my knowledge, teachers are not resigning," he said. But though they are staying, morale is low.

"It is very demoralising when you go to school and find there are no pupils — and know it will be the same the next day.

"It is frustrating to have an empty classroom, but you keep going back and hope the situation will normalise."

There was no one solution to the problems in the schools. "If we want to normalise education, then we must create a society which is based on equality," emphasised "Mr Kaiser".

The pupils demands — such as democratically-elected SRCs and an end to corporal punishment — would have to be met, he said. There would also have to be a large input of qualified and efficient teachers.

"Many people tell me that with my qualifications I should leave the school. But I believe that my duty lies with solving the problems, not taking an escape route to lecture at a university. That would solve nothing."



SOUTH AFRICA

## POLICE URGED TO STAY AWAY FROM POLITICAL FUNERALS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 20 Sep 85 p 4

[Commentary]

[Text]

**T**HE violence and death at funerals are part of a grim and senseless merry-go-round that must stop.

The SOWETAN and other newspapers yesterday reported that youths and some policemen were injured when violence broke out after the funeral of four-year-old Mita Ngobeni, who was alleged to have been killed by the police ten days ago.

It is almost a set piece: a victim of the unrest currently gripping the country gets killed. When he is to be buried, the local magistrate imposes restrictions on the funeral. The people believe the restrictions are unfair and they, of course, ignore them. The police feel it is their duty to enforce the law. Violence and death at the funeral. Then we are back where we started: a victim of the unrest...

It appears that the authorities want to break this spiral of violence — it would be a sad day for South Africa if they did not want to — and that is why they impose the restrictions. They believe that funerals are used as political rallies, but more than that, that mourners are incited to further violence at these services.

The restrictions on what happens at the funerals were introduced some time ago, so it should be clear by now to everybody, even the

blind, that this method does not work.

This week we had the sad demonstration of this at Mita's funeral.

We should be looking at other ways of breaking the spiral.

When we look back at some of the recent "political" funerals and sift information carefully we will notice that where the police kept their distance, we had peace.

The funeral of trade unionist Andries Raditsela, who died shortly after his release from police detention, springs immediately to mind. Thousands, but thousands, were at the Tsakane, Brakpan, service. The police did not interfere right up to the time the crowd dispersed. And it went off very peacefully.

There have been many other such funerals. News editors who have sent out teams, anticipating trouble at those funerals, will tell you how many times they have been proved wrong by funerals ending in peace and dignity.

Any restrictions on a people who already feel discriminated against and oppressed, simply adds one more grievance. And if the restriction can be broken with ease — why not.

In any case, what is wrong with funerals being used as political rallies? The people have to have their

say too. They have enough of the miles and miles of SABC political opinion, so they would like to try another brand.

The people have the right to choose between the politics of the SABC, on the one hand, and of the UDF, of Azapo, or, for that matter, of the ANC and the PAC, on the other.

But what is essential here is that if the Government allows funerals to have no restrictions, the spiral of violence will be broken.

If the Government did so, it would not be abdicating, it would be showing its strength, and magnanimity.

CSO: 3400/22

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANERS ENCOURAGED TO FIGHT RATHER THAN FLEE

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 21 Aug p 4

[Article: "Flee, Give In or Fight"]

[Text] The worsening conditions in South Africa in almost every sphere affect Afrikaners more directly than any other group of the population. It is ultimately the Afrikaner's philosophy of life and traditions which have to be reformed and changed in terms of the Government and its propagandists' fetish.

Collision

In the political sphere, Afrikanerdom has been in growing dissension since Mr Vorster started his purge in 1969 to make the National Party safe for the proponents of racial integration. In the cultural sphere, the lines of division have already been sharply drawn. In the ecclesiastical sphere, a collision between two sides is becoming more and more inevitable. In the economic sphere, the Afrikaner is being impoverished and exploited in the process of redistributing income and welfare. And in public administration the Afrikaner's desires and needs have been shunted to an outsider's position. Moreover, South Africa is now almost isolated diplomatically with the most high-handed interference by the Americans and British, and the country is in an economic crisis unequalled in history because of the Government's extravagance and the Reserve Bank's errors of judgment. As a result of this, the rand has fallen to the point that it is even weaker than the monetary units of Zimbabwe and Botswana. South Africa's foreign debt has run up at such a rate that the repayments this year may bring about a much greater crisis than already exists. The present economic crisis, which is much worse than that of the thirties, has caused unemployment and bankruptcies and even led to white children having to go to school without food.

Rioting

Above and beyond this extremely serious state of affairs, a state of rioting and lawlessness is reigning in large parts of the country; it is no exaggeration to say that certain black neighborhoods have already been transformed into terrorist bases from which black police have been expelled and the authority taken over by gangs of terrorists. And the Government's response is more concessions, which will inevitably lead to renewed riots.

However black this picture may be, it must be sketched in its bareness in order to put the "National" Party's scandalous incompetence and mismanagement on record -- a party which in its passion for change and reform has let itself be transformed into a caricature of the earlier proud, honorable, strong structure which the white people achieved with self-respect and self-reliance and which made South Africa a model of good management.

The present situation has driven many good Afrikaners and patriotic English fellow citizens to the point where they despair of a continued stay in South Africa. They are discussing aloud the possibility of emigrating before it is too late. They feel betrayed by the Government. However justified these people's displeasure and concern is, we must ask with great seriousness that they not lightly decide to emigrate or flee. In our history there are numerous examples of people who moved away out of despair of prevailing circumstances.

#### Led Back

There were the Dorsland Trekkers who rightly despaired of the presidency of Thomas Francois Burgers. They learned from far off that the Boers had beaten the British force at Amajuba and after many years their path led back to South Africa. There were the Boers who after 1902 did not want to stand under the British flag and emigrated to North and South America. In general they did not find any bliss and many later found their way back to South Africa. After the 1948 election many opponents of the National Party emigrated to the then Rhodesia, only to return to South Africa in the course of time. After the 1960-61 riots and the attack on Dr Verwoerd's life, the attainment of the status of a republic and the withdrawal from the Commonwealth, there was also a stream out of South Africa. And when South Africa later experienced a period of unparalleled economic boom, many turned around again and came back.

Remember, the Afrikaner people have already existed for more than 300 years in this country and have gone through many serious crises. For the most part, they emerged from these crises stronger. The choice is now again for many of us: Flee, give in or fight. Those who fight, although often the minority, have still made history every time. It will again be so. The Afrikaner people are firmly on this earth and their role on the stage of history is far from finished.

13084

CSO: 3401/305

SOUTH AFRICA

RIGHTISTS WANT EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN SABC PROGRAMMING

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 21 Aug 85 p 7

[Article: "Cultural Task of the SABC"]

[Text] We must honestly admit that Mr Riaan Eksteen, director general of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Organization] has made a reasonably forthright and at times even impressive showing on the cultural responsibility of the SABC.

We agree entirely with Mr Eksteen's way of thinking. No one should insult anyone else, no population group should get too close to any other, no nation should make accusations against another except on the basis of facts.

Mr Eksteen should know, and we say this categorically, that our attitude to the SABC is in no way sinister and involves no dark purposes. Mr Eksteen must understand, and research confirms that fact, that the chances the present government being reelected grow narrower every day. This means that at least half of all white South Africans sympathize strongly with the political right wing.

By implication this should also mean that about half of the personnel of the SABC are conservative, even if they are unable to express their opinion. For example, we know quite a number of SABC men and women who actively support the rightist parties and nevertheless turn out propaganda for the present policy goals.

We are still very dissatisfied with the one-sided sociopolitical and economic reporting. This dissatisfaction is felt by the great majority of the supporters of the rightist parties and in many cases gives way to irritation at the way the medium of television communication is misused.

It looks as though Mr Eksteen sees cultural responsibility as applicable only in terms of NP [National Party] policy and that cultural responsibility is not at all applicable to his conservative viewers and listeners.

We would like to give Mr Eksteen the opportunity to think through his cultural responsibility thoroughly before we return to this subject.

If he is serious about it and he succeeds in satisfying the other half of the white population in the cultural political sense too, we will gladly help him in his campaign to induce the viewers to pay their license fees.

The appearance of Professor Marius Swart and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche on short discussion programs doesn't make a summer!

12906

CSO: 3401/306

SOUTH AFRICA

# GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES LOSE 25 PERCENT OF INCOME TO INFLATION

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 21 Aug 85 p 5

[Article: "Government Employees 25 percent Poorer: Early Raise Requested"]

[Text] Government employees have become roughly 25 percent poorer since the last general salary increase in January last year. If the present rate of inflation continues, the figure will have reached at least 35 percent by the time the next budget is submitted in March next year.

These figures were supplied to DIE AFRIKANER by experts in the Civil Service with reference to reports that the Association of Civil Servants (VSA) is soon going to request differentiated salary increases.

The last salary increase was received by government employees on 1 January last year, when an average raise of 12 percent was granted. This increase had to compensate for an inflation rate of 25 percent since 1 April 1982, when the previous salary increase was granted.

Civil servants' financial position was further weakened by the government's decision in March this year to reduce the service bonuses of officials by one-third. Those in the know then pointed out that factors such as the increase in AVB [General Sales Tax], an increase of 3 percent in the income tax burden, the tax on fringe benefits and salary reductions would mean a loss of 41 percent in the purchasing power of officials over the period 1 January 1984 to 1 January 1986.

Highly placed sources in the Civil Service point out that that the government has accepted the principle of parity in salaries between the Civil Service and the private sector. Since the most recent increase in the salaries of civil servants, however, a state of inequality has developed. This was the result of moderate salary increases granted in the private sector--in spite of the recession.

This state of affairs will result in the Civil Service losing some of its personnel to the private sector in a possible upturn in the economy. It was pointed out to DIE AFRIKANER that civil servants are dependent on the

next budget for a salary increase. Where a private enterprise can rapidly adjust the salaries of its personnel to prevent them from leaving its service, the Civil Service must plan well in advance.

The VSA will not necessarily ask for a general salary increase, but only for an increase for the positions that no longer have parity with the private sector. Salaries in the private sector are carefully monitored by means of scientific surveys.

12906

CSO: 3401/306



GOVERNMENT PRIVATIZATION PLAN ANNOUNCED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] The Government is about to launch a programme of privatising some State departments and parastatals, the State President, Mr PW Botha, announced yesterday at the congress.

He said the Government did not regard privatisation as an end to itself but as a means to "a sound and balanced relationship between private entrepreneurship and State administration."

With the privatisation programme the activities of State Departments would be reviewed in depth.

Activities which could possibly be managed as well, or even better, by the private sector will be privatised."

- firstly, as in any other institution, the permanent ideal was a smaller but more effective personnel corps;
- secondly, officials could only be paid fittingly if their numbers were limited to the minimum;
- thirdly, for economical reasons it was essential to control Government spending in a disciplined manner and;
- fourthly, the extension of the private sector could broaden the income tax base of the country, thus generating additional income to finance the essential programmes to be carried out by the State.

Mr Botha said the Commission for Administration had already undertaken an in-depth study of the matter and its findings were supported by recent studies in England and West Germany.

"The privatisation action will be launched by the State President's Committee on National Priorities. Institutions such as the Economic Advisory Council, the Central Economic Advisory service and the Competition Board will also be involved," he said. --Sapa.

## Public Aid Sought in Privatised Probe

[Text] An investigation to identify those sectors of the public service that could be privatised would start next week, the Minister of Administration and Economic Advisory Services, Mr Eli Louw, said yesterday.

The private sector would be involved in this investigation, Mr Louw said in reply to a resolution calling on the Government to outline and implement its policy of privatisation as soon as possible.

Mr Louw said the principle of whether privatisation was desirable or not was no longer being discussed it had been accepted.

It was important however, to ensure that the issue was approached with careful planning and consideration of those public servants who had rendered many years of faithful service.

When he addressed the congress earlier yesterday, the State President, Mr PW Botha, emphasised the Government did not regard privatisation as an aim in itself.

"It is a means to be used in the pursuance of a sound and balanced relationship between private entrepreneurship and State Administration."--Sapa.

CSO: 3400/14

SOUTH AFRICA

COST OF KWAZULU NATAL CONSOLIDATION PROJECT REVEALED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

DURBAN. — The cost of the KwaZulu Natal consolidation proposals as detailed in a report released yesterday would be about R195-million and would affect about 42 000 people, Mr Hendrik Tempel, MP, and chairman of the five-man commission investigating the issue, said in Durban yesterday afternoon.

KwaZulu would receive about 300 000 ha in terms of the proposals.

Speaking at a Press conference in Durban, Mr Tempel emphasised that it was "a plan" and not "the plan" for the future development of Natal and KwaZulu.

He also stressed that once the commission had looked into oral and verbal evidence at various areas in Natal and KwaZulu, it would then make representations to the Government and the Land Trust Commission who would have the final say.

Asked for his reaction to Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu's rejection

tion of the proposed plan, Mr Tempel said: "I have no comment at this stage".

**Return**

He was also asked about the Chief's allegation that the proposals were a return to the "Verwoerdian era in South Africa." Mr Tempel replied: "Well, the handing over of 300 000 ha to KwaZulu can hardly be considered returning to the Verwoerdian era. KwaZulu has repeatedly said they want more land."

Mr Tempel said that the Commission had listened to all arguments on the proposals which broadly mean that KwaZulu would consist of three main blocks with 12 adjoining areas.

Elaborating on the land inclusion into KwaZulu, Mr Tempel said that in terms of the 1975 proposals 500 000 people, both White and Black, would have been involved in the removals, and the cost would have been in the region of R300-million.

In terms of the new proposals these figures had been scaled down and as far as the Commission was concerned the propo-

sals allowed only the minimal amount of resettlement.

"In any way you look at it, some Blacks and some Whites will have to be resettled."

Answering questions by Mr A Bischoff, secretary of the Natal Agricultural Union (NAU), Mr Tempel said that White farmers whose lands were incorporated into KwaZulu would be paid out in cash according to the land values at that stage when the consolidation plans were finalised.

In answer to another question he said he could not envisage at this stage what the position would be if White farms were incorporated into KwaZulu and the White owners said that they did not want to sell, but wished to remain under the power of the KwaZulu Government.

**Anxious**

Mr Tempel emphasised that the Commission was anxious to hear the opinions of the various bodies in commerce, various farmers' organisations and other statutory bodies over the proposals.

Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians in

Natal should get together and work out a new constitutional dispensation for the province with a place for every group in it. Dr Jayaram "J N" Reddy, leader of Solidarity, official opposition in the House of Delegates, told Sapa yesterday.

The latest KwaZulu plan appeared to be "less radical" than the 1975 proposal and deserved close scrutiny, Mr Alwyn Bisschoff, told Sapa.

He said the NAU, by a special congress resolution taken in 1982, had committed itself to ensur-

ing that any "upheaval" of Whites or Blacks must be minimal.

"This appears to be the case," he said, adding that he was impressed that the commission was placing emphasis on negotiation.

Mr Bisschoff said his union would want to see consolidation finalised as soon as possible "as we do not want the proverbial sword of Damocles continuing to hang over our heads as it has been doing in the past 14 years".

CSO: 3400/22

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

RACE RELATIONS 'NO 1 PROBLEM'--The deteriorating state of race relations has been statistically proven to be the country's prime headache, according to a report from Market Research Africa (MRA). It has taken over from inflation as the main concern of whites, with two in every five white urban adults now regarding race relations as the number one problem. The findings come from MRA's monthly White Omnijet Surveys for July 1984 and 1985, in which 1,000 adults were polled nationwide. In Natal, 49% of respondents expressed concern over race relations, followed by 46% in the Cape. Transvaal residents were least concerned, with only 34% expressing alarm. English speakers (43%) were more worried about race relations than Afrikaners (37%), but Afrikaners showed more concern about unemployment (19%) than their English counterparts (11%). In July 1984, only 2% of white adults expressed concern about law and order and riots, but the 1985 figure jumped to 13% this year. Concern over inflation, voted to number one spot by 28% of respondents last year, dropped to 9% this July. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 9]

CSO: 3400/25

ZAIRE

# MOBUTU SEEKS TO RECONCILE AUSTERITY WITH SOCIAL NEEDS

Paris LE MONDE in French 4, 5, 6 Jul 85

[Article by Laurent Zecchini: "Zaire in Search of Respectability"]

[4 Jul 85 pp 1, 5]

[Text] I. The Mobutu System

Kinshasa--"We have always been in the Western camp and paradoxically enough, it is always the Western countries that attack us. One would say that they do not want Zaire to be a real power! The most reliable ally of the Western camp is dragged through the mud. They are trying to reduce it to impotence, anarchy, simply because it demands its right to be different. We simply want to be ourselves...." Sitting in the garden of his home, a white house in the Kinshasa heights, 1st State Commissioner Kengo Wa Dondo becomes animated. Enjoying a hearty breakfast with his close aides, the prime minister, nicknamed "Citizen Strictness" in Kinshasa, willingly answers questions, softly adding: "That won't prevent us from being your ally."

And what if Kengo Wa Dondo were not completely wrong? It is Sunday, the Boulevard du 30 Juin is empty. The previous evening, there was an unusual sight: the men -- and women -- of the BSP (Special Presidential Brigade), impeccably turned out in their fatigues, wielding brooms and shovels, their M16's slung over their shoulders. Saturday is the day of Salongo: compulsory work details, from 1400 to 1730 hours, in order to make up for the lack of road workers and street sweepers and serve "the revolution." The Boulevard du 30 Juin is the Western showcase of this African metropolis of nearly 3 million inhabitants that seems so industrious. When, leaving Brazzaville, one crowds onto one of the strange steamers that cross the river strewn with shole beds of water hyacinths, the city, whose buildings emerging from the shimmering haze, makes one think of Hong Kong. After the half-hour crossing and once one reaches the Zairian shore, the illusion is quickly dissipated. But quickly also, one can see to what extent this city and this country are the victims of an undeserved reputation, in any case, one that no longer completely corresponds to reality. As far as human rights are concerned, Zaire is not exemplary of the good, but not of the bad either.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A relative judgment: Amnesty International periodically finds numerous cases of political imprisonment and torture in Zaire, in fact.

As far as safety is concerned, Kinshasa does not resemble Lagos, Abidjan, Dakar or even Douala. In other words, at any time of the day or night and wherever one may be, one is completely safe. At night, "Kin" is transformed, deserving, by virtue of its music and dancing, its reputation as the most joyous capital on the continent, but only at night.

Let there be no mistake about it: The iron thumb of the "guide," the president and founder of the MPR (Popular Movement of the Revolution), Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, remains total, although relatively discreet today. It is a curious country: a muzzled press, an opposition that comes out so rarely that it takes on a disproportionate importance, a population that unflinchingly bears up under an increasingly sharp austerity and nothing moves, ever.... One old Kinshasa native, a Western diplomat, gives one explanation: "Individual freedoms are not truly -- at least systematically -- limited by coercion, but by a diffuse propaganda, a constant mobilization in the MPR and by the personality cult that surrounds the Guide. The 'Mobutu system' discourages revolt. It is the regime of the extinguisher." The MPR -- of which every citizen is a member from birth -- knows only his law because, in accordance with the logic of its founder, it is a party-state, a "whole" outside of which nothing can validly exist. In the most remote town of the Equatorial forest and in the "Kinshasa zone," one of the most poverty-stricken districts of the capital, the MPR is present.

#### Tourniquet

The very embodiment of the paternalistic African autocrat, President Mobutu tolerates no sharing of power. In Zaire, notoriety very quickly becomes a source of trouble. Former Prime Minister Nguza Karl I Bond, who has just returned to Kinshasa after a 4-year exile in Brussels, knows something about it: the successive Cabinet shakeups that come without warning. Those who have apparently fallen from grace actually have a good chance of returning to the corridors of power some day. This practice of the "tourniquet" makes it possible to discourage any sign of revolt. Why go over to the opposition, meaning go into exile, when one has but to wait for history to go around again? "In 20 months," says the representative of a financial organization, "I had eight board chairman at GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company] and five finance ministers." "In 5 years," adds the political adviser to an important embassy, "I have never been able to find a logical explanation for a given departure from or addition to the government." Power here is obtained or lost because of the changing mood of "the master." And yet, according to several accounts, the debate that takes place within the Central Committee is astonishingly lively and free. The president-founder accepts the "challenges" and even criticism, but on one imperative condition: Nothing must ever filter abroad because the Guide must never appear to be questioned. In exchange for this rule, never transgressed, the members of the Central Committee enjoy all the advantages of the Nomenklatura.

The "Mobutu system" is relatively original: Along with strict repression, a continuing dialogue is being preserved with dissidents, either real or assumed. Every time he is abroad, the president has softened the "diehards" with bundles of bills. How many of them, returning home, have stopped off at N'Sele (the

president's estate (leaving with a lucrative post or ministerial office, the two often being identical)? Thus it was of the group of "the 13" deputies belonging to the former UDPS (Union for Democracy and Social Progress), whose last seven "recalcitrants" who had been placed under house arrest were "pardoned" 2 weeks ago by President Mobutu.

Like the Bamilekes in Cameroon, the Kasai constitute a state within a state. More educated than the others, for historical reasons, and naturally rebellious, they occupy many posts in the machinery of the country's economic and social life. "If they wanted," one minister admits, "they could constitute a coalition to paralyze the country." While distrusting the Baloubas (one of the main ethnic groups of the Kasai), President Mobutu is forced to get along with them and, in general, to take certain balances and pressure groups into account, whether they be of ethnic, economic or religious origin. For example, the Catholic lobby plays an important role in the Central Committee.

There are, in fact, several circles in the entourage of the chief of state, but it is nearly impossible to know who plays a preponderant role. The mestizos -- Kengo Wa Dongo, Seti, presidential security adviser, and Mbemba, president of ANEZA (Zairian employers), in particular -- also exercise real influence, like the people of the Equator (the region from which the president comes), whose presence in spheres of power and the army is important, although one cannot thereby condemn Mobutu for being exaggeratedly tribalistic.

"Divide and conquer" has always been the governing principle of Marshal Mobutu. To date, the tactic has worked fairly well, if one excepts the "eternal" problem of the Shaba which, by periodically coming back into the limelight, helps build the image of Zaire's instability. In November, the sudden revolt of Moba on the banks of Lake Tanganyika reminded one that vast areas of the country escape the control of the central government (LE MONDE, 17 May). Anyone trying to stir up trouble in Zaire will first of all go after the "soft underbelly," Shaba. Although essentially found in Angola and Zambia, the former "Katangan gendarmes" or their sons may constitute a potential mass to work with, despite the security and defense agreement signed on 9 February between Angola and Zaire. Furthermore, even less than President Mobutu, President Dos Santos cannot control his territory. In order to try to prevent sporadic disturbances, a military intelligence and action department was set up, aimed at countering subversion and with competence extending beyond the national border.

#### Elite Units

These upheavals in the southern region of the "empire" led the chief of state to amass troops in Shaba, particularly since the events in Kolwezi in May 1978, which helps stir up latent opposition to the central government. Regarding security, Mobutu has surrounded himself with the best experts. For example, the fact that he is himself lightly protected shows that, in Kinshasa at least, he has little to fear. The BSP, that veritable pretorian guard of the regime, has 2,500 men well trained and officered by Israeli military advisers. It "holds" the capital. The AND (National Documentation Agency), the political police of sinister reputation under Seti, but especially, the chief of state himself, keeps watch over the population. Commanded by Citizen Ngbanda, former



Zairian ambassador to Israel, AND is made up of several thousand civilian agents who are present in all sectors of the country's economic and social life: espionage, informing, repression, and its "competencies" are therefore almost unlimited. Less spectacular operations -- fewer in number than a few years ago -- are entrusted to the G2, an ultrasecret militarized unit headed by Colonel Bolozi (from the Equator) and, according to a Western military expert, made up of veritable "tontons macoutes." The many excesses committed in the past by the G2 led President Mobutu to take away some of Bolozi's powers, since mid 1983, and give them to AND. "That has still not prevented the G2 from going beyond its limits somewhat," recognizes one important AND member, who also emphasizes the close relations which his agency maintains with Israeli, Belgian, American and above all, French secret services: "Temporary foreign advisers come to stay in Zaire and we go train in your country."

Under the general staff of the armed forces, the G2 actually answers only to the chief of staff and has relays, on the operational level (the S2) in the gendarmerie (B2) or the provincial staff (T2). In case of grave risk, the chief of state knows he can call on 4,500 men of the 31st Airborne, an elite unit staffed by some 60 French military officers. While the command of this unit is soon to come under Zairian control, at the request of President Mobutu, on the other hand, the latter requested -- and obtained -- that France take charge of the training of a second airborne brigade. As for the Belgians, they officer the 21st Brigade stationed in Lubumbashi. In the capital of Shaba, Israeli advisers are also at work reorganizing the old Kamanyola division. For their part, Chinese military experts officer the 41st Brigade in the north-east. Finally, the Americans have a military cooperation office in Kinshasa, but they are not responsible for the training of troops. Some 20 Israeli advisers, about 100 French, another 100 Belgians and a few dozen Chinese and Americans again show the "Mobutu method": The chief of state is diversifying his alliances, realizing that it is a priori impossible for the BSP troops and those of the 31st Brigade, trained by different countries, to form an alliance and oust him.

And yet, on the whole, the 60,000 men of the FAZ (Zairian Armed Forces) -- 90,000 by the end of the year -- are rather undisciplined and of debatable military worth. In January, the chief of state tried to regain control of the army, replacing the military leaders by competent young officers, whose prototype could be the current chief of staff, General Eluki, 45. At the same time, four high-ranking officers have made their entrance on the Central Committee (compared with one previously) and three of them are on the Politburo.

While the military officers are relatively satisfied with their fate, the troops, generally underpaid, have little reason to be happy. "The president relies on them, giving them just enough to survive," notes one military expert. "The army represents less than 5 percent of the budget. In the long run, that is not justifiable!" On this point, the military represents Zairian society as a whole perfectly. Unable to get along on his wage, every citizen does the best he can, which here is an art.

[Text] Independent for 25 years, Zaire experienced many upheavals before being guided by the iron hand of President Mobutu (LE MONDE, 4 July), loyal ally of the West. And yet, the latter has not succeeded in leading his country out of the ills besetting many African nations.

Lubumbashi--Automatic sprinklers water the greens, whose tender hue is in contrast with the deeper color of the surrounding vegetation. The 18-hole golf course is superb. Coral trees and red and yellow cannas frame the clubhouse. The air is fresh; the countryside almost Normand. A tanned Belgian, followed by a young Black caddy, returns slowly to the restaurant, where the menu must offer *frites mayonnaise*.

Not far away, near the Karavia dairy farm," at the end of a dusty lane, one comes to a perfectly maintained equestrian center with a dressage arena and obstacle course of Olympic dimensions. Dozens of South African horses are in the stalls. In the evening, expatriates, the majority of them Belgian, have a few drinks in a very cosy atmosphere. Twenty-five years after independence, Lubumbashi-Elisabethville, with its false airs of a Belgian provincial city, still has many of the traces.

The influence of the old colonial power remains considerable, both economically and on the people's thinking. And yet, the "Flemish," as they are called by those not fond of them, are not in complete control, which some almost regret: "Under the Belgians, we lived better" (which is probably true).

Others, more numerous, undoubtedly, think that since the Belgians did not leave much in the way of social infrastructures (which is also true), they are now in a poor position to give development lessons to Zairian authorities. Nonetheless, while the Belgian community tends to decline, going from 17,000 expatriates in 1980 to 14,500 today, the Zairian colony in Belgium, mainly in Brussels, remains large with some 15,000 persons. "Are you traveling?" "I'm going abroad." Two common expressions that mean going to Belgium.

Sabena has five flights a week between Kinshasa and Brussels, where the wives of rich Zairians come to have their babies and where the children of wealthy families are educated. It is also to the Belgian capital that the "institutional" opposition to the regime of President Mobutu fled and while Kinshasa businessmen put their money in Swiss bank accounts, they invest in Belgium, particularly in real estate. In Gombe, the most fashionable district of Kinshasa, one sometimes sees Mercedes with Belgian license plates carrying little Zairians with a heavy Belgian accent!

#### Losses

Light years away, on the road leading to downtown Lubumbashi, a herd of horned cows completely obstructs the way, forcing cars to creep along. After waiting for 15 minutes, a white driver, out of patience, asks the herder to push his animals to one side. The answer is not long in coming: "Ten zaires?"

Another day, on the road leading to the airport, where the load of a big cargo plane is laid out, a crate falls from the baggage compartment and comes open, setting off a pushing and shoving match. The contents are rapidly picked up. A little further on, another group is opening crates in order -- curiously enough -- to count the packages of cigarettes again, one by one. There are many "losses" and "disappearances" in Zaire.

Around the cities and in the cities, the soldiers erect barriers to exact "ransom" (very amicably, it is true). from the passing automobiles. At the end of the month, they will have made enough to make ends meet for their family. Police and customs officers do the same thing, following the well-known principle that since everything has its price, everything has to be paid for. The *matabiche* governs all aspects of the Zairian society's system. "I have to bribe the police so they will let me onto the loading platform," says one ELIMA vendor (one of two Zairian dailies) at the Kinshasa airport, justifying the sudden 50-percent increase in the price of the paper.

We are at the border post between Zaire and Zambia, not far from Kipushi. The customs office is right in the bush. Here it is that trucks carrying flour from Zambia pass. "In general," explains one guide, "they barely slow down to cross the border, content to throw two bags on the ground: one for the customs officer and the other for the police!"

With variations, this scene is repeated at all levels and in all sectors of the country's economic life. The richest, who have access to imports, "engage in business," while the others, in addition to their regular jobs, have regular or occasional outside jobs, "rounding the pebble."<sup>1</sup> Whatever the case, in a country where the average wage does not exceed the equivalent of 150 French francs a month, notions of honesty or law have little meaning. One of the most famous slogans of the MPR (Popular Movement of the Revolution): "Serve rather than be served," is applied literally, but the other way around. The army often sets the example, selling off, piece by piece, the tank turrets or spare helicopter parts which, melted down, will supply a cottage pot and pan factory.

The whole forms what economists discreetly call the circuits of the "informal economy," which constitutes the essential portion of the daily life of the people. Wages are paltry: 800 zaires<sup>2</sup> for a customs officer, 600 for a teacher, 1,000 for a professor or low-level officer, 400 for a regular soldier or policeman. These figures should be compared with the price of a 50-kilo bag of manioc (600 to 800 zaires), the staple item in most of the country's diet. It is thus easy to figure it out: A bag of manioc is enough for a family of six to get along for a month, but most families do not have the means to buy a bag, theoretically, at least. Whence the importance of the parallel economy.

<sup>1</sup> "Tailler le caillou": in Kinshasa slang, "to use one's wits to make ends meet."

<sup>2</sup> 1 French franc is worth about 5 zaires.

## Fatalism

A nun who has lived in the suburbs of Lubumbashi for several years explains the decline in the standard of living in the poorest districts: "Previous to 1965, the people had three meals a day, then they had two and a half from 1965 to 1970, two from 1970 to 1975, a meal and a half from 1975 to 1980 and finally one meal until 1984. Today, there are many people who do not eat every day." One can see the trend by going through the Kinshasa markets. At the stalls, meat, fish, rice, flour, corn, soap, grasshoppers, monkey, pineapples, and so on, are sold in very small portions and therefore, at very low prices.

In the cities, the people seem to accept the consequences of an ever harsher austerity fatalistically. Strikes do take place from time to time, however, occasionally requiring the direct intervention of the chief of state at the site of the "conflict." But in general, as explained by the secretary general of the National Union of Zairian Workers, Kombo, union members base their action on "dialogue and working together," inasmuch as the UNTZA is an "integral part of the MPR" and rejects "trade unionism consisting of making demands."

His officials try to make the rank and file understand that it is Zaire that appealed to the International Monetary Fund and that consequently, it is the duty of each individual to accept new limitations. "The role of trade unionism in developing countries," Kombo emphasizes, "is first of all to educate the people, explain to them that in order to eat, we have to produce." Although he does not believe that "one can make people accept the same sacrifices for 3 years," Kombo does not think there will be a "Tunisian-style" social revolt.

## Power of Church

In the bush, family solidarity is powerfully backed by the aid supplied by Catholic missions. The Church, people generally believe, is probably the most solid institution in Zaire, at least the best organized and the most operational. Some 2,500 priests (a third of them Zairian), 52 bishops and 4,800 nuns (half Zairian) are scattered throughout the territory, divided into 47 dioceses, autonomous financially.

"They are the only ones who could try to pull off a coup with any chance of succeeding," jokes one Western military expert. Actually, all the missions are connected with Kinshasa by radio. In all, there are nearly a thousand stations constituting a grid that is unique. Even the army does not have such a good system of transmission. In Kinshasa, telephone subscribers must often buy the electric wires themselves, pay phone employees and give them the tools if they want their line fixed! A minister will sometimes wait 6, 8 or even 24 hours before he can speak with the government in a given region. The sole example of the telephone explains in a nutshell why there is no real "state" in Zaire, but only a "chief of state," a good police force and a few elite units.

This superiority which the Church enjoys of being able to communicate rapidly with the main areas of the country explain its effectiveness and therefore its popularity with the people. Urgent needs are known and known and aid dispensed more rapidly. Furthermore, the Church manages many of the hospitals,

clinics and schools. It often pays the teachers who, when they are paid, receive their wages several months late. In the bush, the women also know that nuns can also become midwives if the situation demands it and that the missionaries have many more books and notebooks than the teacher or the local representative of the MPR.

These de facto interventionism in social life gives rise to inevitable rivalries and conflicts with local civilian and military authorities. Church representatives try, in fact, to oppose the military's extortion against peasants, whether it be a case of brutality, the tribute that the army tries to levy or the misappropriation of aid, national or international. This military violence is practically "institutionalized" throughout the country.

Sister X, who lives in Lubumbashi, narrates her experience: "Since the people barricade themselves, the soldiers make holes in the walls of the houses to get in and loot. They are generally sent by their officers, to whom they must turn over part of the booty. Once, the residents of the district went out into the street and began to shout as the soldiers approached. Surprised and without weapons, they left."

The Church is therefore respected, both because of its power, integrity and also, as gaily noted by one provincial political leader, because, outside of the Catholic Church, "there are many lucrative little churches" (nearly 300 sects are represented in Zaire).

Since the visit of Pope John Paul II in May 1980, relations between the clergy and Zairian authorities have improved. Furthermore, President Mobutu knows that while he can tame part of the Catholic hierarchy, he can do nothing against its influence and that the Church makes up for the government's inadequacies. In addition, although backed by nearly 15 million faithful, the Zairian Church has no "fighting" tradition like the South American Church. It is therefore not potentially dangerous to the government, which for its part can no longer allow its image to deteriorate on the international level by practicing wide-scale repression.

Marshal Mobutu is in fact engaged in a close game, with the International Monetary Fund as his main partner. By following the instructions of the IMF to the letter, Zaire has undeniably regained some of its foreign credibility, but is the persistence of austerity compatible with this "7-year reign of social welfare" promised by the Guide?

[6 Jul 85 p 4]

[Text] Led by the iron hand of President Mobutu, loyal ally of the West, Zaire is far from being able to feed all of its people, who are forced into all kinds of trading in order to survive (LE MONDE, 4, 5 July). And yet, Mobutu is engaged in a close game with the IMF.

### III. IMF's Good Pupil?

Kipushi--Here the water runs right from the ceiling of the gallery, where one wades in water up to the calf. Water steams from the walls, alternating

further on with the dust that fills the lungs. Soaked with sweat because of the often suffocating heat, one then penetrates a zone swept by cold drafts of air. Mud gives way to rock debris and then, as if it were not enough, there are the shouts of the neophytes trying in vain to make themselves heard over the din of the excavators and the raucous horns of the monstrous dump trucks that bear down the gallery as if they were on a freeway. Some 1,150 meters underground, the mining of copper, Zaire's main source of wealth, is still, despite the progress of mechanization, done under excruciating conditions.

In a narrow alleyway, a miner stops his bone-shaking drill for a moment: "I earn 1,500 zaires;<sup>1</sup> but if you work hard, you make more." With bonuses, the basic wage can go as high as 4,000 zaires, it appears, meaning a little less than a few months ago, before elimination of overtime. The mine works 24 hours a day and every man works 8 hours a day (five underground), six days a week. A total of 1,260 men, working in three shifts, work to extract 6,000 tons of copper ore a day. Every Saturday, the wives of the miners can go check on the "working atmosphere" on the spot. The trip takes 3 minutes.

GECAMINES (General Quarries and Mines Company), whose "total population in Zaire, including families, is 222,946 persons, including 2,514 expatriates" (1983 statistics), is very attached to its image as a social enterprise. It is true that its good economic health fairly much determines that of all the inhabitants of Shaba and, beyond that, of the entire country. All mining products (copper, zinc, silver, gold, cobalt, diamonds, and so on) represent over 80 percent of all export income.

In principle, the company provides for all the needs of the people, who reside on both sides of the "copper road" (Lubumbashi-Likassi-Kipushi). But it also places financial limitations on enterprises in Shaba, which for the most part live on subcontracting or the commercial "spinoff" of the mining company: Since GECAMINES offers its employees different goods and commodities (fuel, flour) on preferential terms, the small local manufacturers are forced to follow. Whence the nearly general stagnation of private operators in this period of austerity.

And yet, this "social dimension" has its limits. To be convinced, one has but to visit the outdated facilities (the furnace was built in 1908) of the pyrometallurgical plants of Lubumbashi, to penetrate the "furnace" where molten metal is being poured and where busy workers do not worry about any safety measures. Here, everything or nearly everything is done with the manual intervention of man. An important investment program to modernize the facilities is planned, however, with the aid of the World Bank, for a total of \$800 million (including \$250 million in outside financing), over 5 years. On a world level, experts are counting on a stabilization of copper prices in the years ahead, even a slight increase.

For Zaire, which, with 500,000 tons, is the sixth-ranking world producer in the world, a reduction in the heretofore erratic price of the "red gold" is a decisive element in the success or failure of the economic recovery plan undertaken under the tutelage of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

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<sup>1</sup> 1 French franc = about 5 zaires.

Zaire, which is coming out of a long period of financial crises and breaks with the Fund, in 1983 and 1984 implemented a policy of stabilization and austerity that is yielding encouraging results. On the whole, Kinshasa is meeting its international commitments and, to a lesser extent, the "performance criteria" imposed on it by the IMF. At the end of last year, for example, the budgetary deficit amounted to some .5 percent of the gross national product, compared with 3.8 percent in 1983 and 10.5 percent in 1984. The restrictive monetary policy followed in 1984 (after the major devaluation of the zaire in 1983) made it possible to limit growth of the monetary mass to 34 percent (compared with doubling the previous year) and, after unification of the two markets: one official and the other free, the rate of the zaire was stabilized compared with the dollar, depreciating "only" 31 percent.

#### New Rescheduling

In addition, inflation has risen by some 18 percent<sup>1</sup>, compared with a little over 100 percent in 1983. Essentially thanks to coffee, diamonds, oil and cobalt, whose volume of sales and prices rose, export receipts increased 21 percent over 1983. But however encouraging they may be, these results did not have a positive effect on the deficit in the balance of payments, due to the burden of the foreign debt.

In 1984, Zaire paid \$325 million back to its creditors. Its overall foreign debt remains high, some \$4.5 billion. On 24 April, Zaire obtained a standby credit of 162 million special drawing rights from the IMF and committed itself to a second confirmation agreement until the end of April 1986. Finally, at the Club of Paris meeting on 23 and 24 May, Zairian authorities obtained a new rescheduling amounting to \$350 million (total service on the debt in 1985 is on the order of \$900 million).

France has also decided to "accompany" Zaire's efforts, by raising the amount of its financial commitments from 429 million francs to nearly 500 million in 1985. Zaire is, in addition, the only country in the world to which Paris gives both loans from the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCEE), direct aid from the Cyclical Action Fund (FAC) and financial protocols from the Treasury. The second supplier after Belgium, it nevertheless occupies a mediocre position with respect to investments in the country. French investments amount to \$10 million, compared with \$800 million for Belgium, \$200 million for the United States and \$60 million for the United Kingdom.

#### Disastrous Road System

Agriculture, which still occupies nearly 58 percent of the active population (compared with only 3 percent of the territory devoted to agriculture), is mainly the victim of the disastrous state of communications, especially in the south. "If one wanted to connect all the regional capitals, at the current rate of speed," jokes one expert, "one would have to invest \$40 billion over a thousand year." Liberalization of farm prices has resulted in an increase in production of nearly 40 percent, but a large part of that production

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<sup>1</sup> In practice, increases in common consumer products have been much greater, ranging as high as 45 percent.



has been lost because it could not be shipped in time to marketing centers and because of the lack of coordination between the different ministries involved. The prime importance of the sector has been recognized, however. The sixth road project, which involves the EEC, the French Central Fund and the World Bank, provides for an investment of \$250 million from 1986 to 1988.

Restoration of most economic indicators in 1984 has not brought about the return of foreign private investors. "The IMF's intention, in creating an image of credibility for Zaire, was to stimulate an investment dynamic," explains one Western financial expert. "Many businessmen came, but not so in order to invest and to sell." "We are not investing," one Belgian manufacturer admits. "We are keeping the productive apparatus in place. It is old and operates at 25-percent capacity." Since the Zairians do not generally invest in the productive sector, preferring to make immediate profits, and since the public sector has no room to maneuver because of restraints imposed by the IMF, the situation is worrisome.

### Zairianization

Several factors explain why there is a lack of confidence. Most of Zaire's foreign partners do not intend to "whitewash" the dispute over Zairianization, which was decided upon in 1973 and which has taken the form of outright plundering. The French emphasize that the government has not attacked the "bastions of Belgian capitalism" and estimate the amount of their interests seized without compensation to total 20 million francs. Some practices are not likely to restore a climate of trust, furthermore: President Mobutu's January visit to ONATRA (National Transport Office), for example, to remove Belgian board chairman Honore Paelinck, before personnel gathered together in a kind of "people's tribunal"; or the nonpayment, for 19 months, of most of the wages of 80 Air Zaire expatriates. The latter case is all the more shocking because everyone knows that the Air Zaire offices abroad have long served as a "drop box" to fatten presidential bank accounts abroad. Finally, the quotas: "one White for 100 Zairians," imposed on foreign enterprises and the list of jobs reserved for nationals are part of the provisions that discourage private investors.

In addition, lax customs control is notorious. It is estimated that for the Zairian Treasury, this fraud corresponds to a loss of some 1 billion zaires a quarter.

The beginning of 1985 has been marked, in the opinion of Zairian authorities, by "a tendency to relax control," both with respect to the inflation rate, the drop in production in most sectors and the lack of foreign exchange, which brought about a devaluation of the zaire, this although the government has since the beginning of the year practically frozen all operating expenses. According to Prime Minister Kengo Wa Dondo, it is a temporary situation, but it nevertheless expresses the extreme fragility of what certain officials incautiously label the Zairian "miracle."

At the last MPR Central Committee meeting at the beginning of May, most participants deemed that the economic policy followed by the government, which in



fact amounts to applying that of the IMF, was dangerous in the long run for the country and that it had little chance of being reconciled with the priorities of the "7-year social welfare reign" defined by the chief of state on 5 December. Even if the latter took the precaution of stating that in using the term "social," he was not necessarily thinking about wage increases. Following its meeting, the Central Committee published a bulletin which, while manifesting "unreserved" approval of the economic and financial program concluded with the IMF, recommends vigilance "so that certain constraints of the program do not disturb" the life of the country socially. In prudent terms, this phrase would tend to prove that President Mobutu "heard" the observations of the Central Committee. "The president constantly tells the IMF: 'I do not lead sheep; I lead men,'" Kengo Wa Dondo told us. Will the prime minister, who personally believes that the fact that the Zairian Government is forced to devote 45 percent of its budget to paying back the foreign debt is scandalous, be able to continue imposing austerity, sacrifices and resignation for a long time to come?

11,464

CSO: 3419/549

ZIMBABWE

MINISTER SAYS PARTY MUST HAVE SAY IN ECONOMY

Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] The highest organs of Zanu (PF) must be involved in both policy formulation and planning of the economy since the party is committed to the development of the economy, the Minister of Home Affairs, Cde Enos Nkala, said yesterday.

Addressing members of the Zimbabwe Promotion Council in Bulawayo on the role of the economic affairs committee of the Zanu (PF) Politburo, Cde Nkala called on the private and public sectors to work together to improve the economic and social status of all the people, especially those in communal areas.

He said that since the ZPC represented leaders of the Zimbabwean economy it was important that they be kept informed of important political events and decisions of the Government and the ruling party.

Zanu (PF) was committed to the policy of socialism.

"However, in pursuance of this policy Zanu (PF) takes cognizance of our historical and socio-cultural reality. Consequently the socialist thrust Zanu (PF) pursues and intends to follow takes into account the existence of the private sector," he said.

The private and public sectors would have to work together to improve the economic and social status of the people.

He said the three-year development plan recognised the private sector as indicated by the Prime Minister who said: "While the main thrust of the plan is socialist and calls for a greater role by the State through the instrumentality of state enterprises . . . ample room has been reserved for performance by private enterprises."

"Thus of the total amount of \$6096 million gross investment needed for the plan, the public sector will make an input of 59 percent, leaving the private sector to find the rest of the input of 41 percent."

Cde Nkala then said: "Therefore, we are partners in the development of our country."

Over the past five years the Government had adopted pragmatic policies with regard to agriculture, health education and community development. It had also adopted a realistic pricing policy in agriculture which induced farmers to produce sufficient food for local consumption as well as for export.

In mining the Government had supported the industry through trying times and had guaranteed the gold producers price of \$500 an ounce although the current price was about \$290 an ounce.

Millions

"In the manufacturing field a number of new projects worth millions of dollars have been approved and old equipment and machinery had been and continued to be replaced.

"This is where the economic committee in the Politburo, of which I am chairman, comes in."

He said membership of the committee involved ministries of transport, mines, industry, technology, national supplies, trade and commerce, finance, economic planning and development, agriculture, energy and water resources, information, posts and telecommunications.

Functions of the committee were to initiate and formulate economic plans and policies, monitor progress on project implementation and coordinate Government programmes.

There were two subcommittees charged with specific matters and these could co-opt specialists like permanent secretaries from ministries, because they were in the best position to furnish data on which policy decisions were taken.

The committee had already started analysing various issues relating to the economy on the report presented to Zanu (PF)'s second congress by the first secretary and president of the party, Cde Mugabe, and the resolutions made at the end of that congress with a view to working programmes of action for the various ministries to implement.

CSO: 3400/8

ZIMBABWE

# STATE TO OFFER MORE AID TO CO-OPS

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Sep 85 p 1, 3

[Article by: Tim Chigodo]

[Text] The Government is taking a fresh look at all co-operatives in Simbabwe to correct mistakes and solve problems hampering their development.

The exercise is part of a new strategy being drawn up to ensure the success of co-operatives, says the Minister of State (Political Affairs and Co-ordination of Cooperatives), Cde Maurice Nyagumbo.

He told The Herald: "Yes, there is an evaluation exercise which is taking place aimed at systematically examining the problems or mistakes that have gone on since the Government pronounced its intention to promote co-operatives of various types throughout the country in 1980."

Answering questions, the minister said the strategy was geared to promote socialist development in the country.

The Government would revise and update the Cooperative Societies Act to give legal status to the mushrooming pre-co-operative groups throughout the country, the new socialist-orientated co-operatives, a new co-operative movement and the co-operative societies policy approved in 1983.

Adequate financial assistance would be provided to self-reliant and viable co-operative societies. "Such finance shall be provided for projects in the mining, agricultural, industrial, service and consumer fields in both urban and rural areas. Both local and foreign financial resources shall be mobilised to meet the needs of the co-operators," Cde Nyagumbo said.

The question of specialised banking institutions for co-operatives was being closely examined.

The Government would increase its services to co-operative societies in terms of extension, legal, audit, technical and other basic needs.

Co-operative training would be intensified from national to the district and village level through field courses, workshops and demonstrations. Training facilities, including the construction of a fully-fledged co-operative college as found in a number of countries, were being considered.

A system of registration was being drawn up aimed at avoiding excessive delays in the processing of loans and at the same time capable of screening bogus co-operative groups. There would be an information system beginning with a news bulletin/news letter and gradually developing into a co-operative magazine/journal.

Sound security for co-operative members and property through a group co-operative insurance system that could eventually link up with trade union insurance would be introduced. There would be regular and well-organised meetings with development ministries and non-government organisations to discuss co-operative development plans, problems and constant reviewing and refinement of policies.

Cde Nyagumbo said the Government planned introducing or offering incentives for co-operative development. Before introducing or offering the incentives, the Government would ensure that groups entered into co-operative enterprises or ventures with the right orientation for co-operative activity.

"As soon as this is ensured such groups will be provided with essential financial assistance; continuous training and education and basic support services in terms of marketing inputs or hardware, legal and technical support."

The Government was working out a special loan system for co-operatives based on low interest rates and covering not only short-term but medium- and long-term loans as well. Vigorous co-operative development and co-ordination programmes along socialist lines would be the main thrust.

Cde Nyagumbo stressed that the objectives of the co-operatives should be to relieve the nation of the increasing problems of unemployment by encouraging the vast masses of the population to create jobs for themselves and not to wait for workplaces to be established for them by a few individuals with personal interests. "This outlook creates the spirit of self-reliance."

Co-operative jobs should be based on the skills within the reach of the participants. This would facilitate effective decision-making, control and planning by the beneficiaries.

The current exercise was aimed at consolidating the existing political, administrative and development structures at village, ward, district, provincial and national level by promoting grassroots projects.

he minister noted that there had been different levels of success in co-operative enterprises throughout the country. Those which had basic resources in terms of education, finance and management had proved very successful.

At the moment there were about 1600 registered co-operatives and over 8000 unregistered pre-co-operative groups throughout the country.

CSO: 3400/8

ZIMBABWE

## HARARE BOOMS AS EXPATRIATES RETURN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (BUSINESS SUPPLEMENT) in English 15 Sep 85 p 8

[Article by: Ciaran Ryan]

[Text] **THE** property market in Zimbabwe is experiencing the biggest boom since the start of the bush war in 1972.

Eighteen months ago it was not uncommon to see advertisements along the lines: "To swap — house with half-acre plot for video cassette recorder and colour TV set."

Now it is virtually impossible to find flats or houses to rent in Harare because many Zimbabweans, black and white, are returning from South Africa and overseas. Housing values in Harare have also been lifted by the presence of a large diplomatic community.

### Townhouses

House prices in Harare have increased by between 30% and 100% in the past two years. A four-bedroomed house on a one-acre plot in Harare's exclusive suburb of Quinington would have fetched Z\$30 000 (R46 700 at an exchange rate of 0,642c to the rand) two years ago. Now it is worth more than Z\$60 000 (R93 400) — if available.

Townhouses, which are owned mostly by wealthy farmers, can sell for up to Z\$100 000 (R155 750). Even a one-bedroomed flat on the outskirts of Harare's commercial centre fetches about Z\$13 000 (R20 250).

### Money to lend

Many Zimbabwean house-owners living in South Africa were unable to sell their houses after independence, but they are now clinging to their properties in case the going gets tougher "down South". This has resulted in shortage of properties.

The property boom has been aided by building societies which now have more money to lend. At an interest rate of 23% or more, bonds are still beyond the reach of most Zimbabweans, but two years ago they were virtually impossible to obtain, except for the wealthy.

Most of Zimbabwe's new urban development is taking place in Harare's city centre. Most of it is sponsored by the Government which continues to expand the public service beyond its bloated complement of 80 000 in an effort to curb unemployment.

### Bulawayo

The story is not so rosy in Bulawayo where few developments are taking place. There is considerable suspicion that Bulawayo is the target of Government neglect because it is the heartland of Joshua Nkomo's opposition Zapu party.

House values are depressed and unemployment is serious.

Zimbabwe's economic boom also appears to have by-passed many other outlying towns.

The Government has em-

barked on prestige projects which it hopes will improve Harare's standing on the international conference circuit. These include the Z\$65-million (R101,2-million) Sheraton Hotel, being built by Yugoslav company Energo project, and a giant sports stadium being built by the People's Republic of China for an undisclosed sum.

### Foreigners

Zimbabwean builders have attacked the Government for awarding the building contracts for these two projects

to foreign companies when domestic industries are begging for work.

The design of the Sheraton Hotel — owned by the Government but managed by Sheraton — contravenes several municipal by-laws, much to the embarrassment of the Government, which has been accused of rushing through approval of the building plans without doing its homework.

Building plans for non-Government projects have not had the expeditious treatment enjoyed by the Sheraton and others.

CSO: 3400/15

ZIMBABWE

ADB LOANS BOOST ROADS

Harare THE HERALD (BUSINESS SUPPLEMENT) in English 12 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by: David Masunda]

[Text] The African Development Bank has approved two new loans for Zimbabwe amounting to \$78 million, the bank's regional representative for Southern Africa, Mr Bisi Ogunjobi, said this week.

Mr Ogunjobi told Business Herald this brought ADB's total commitment to Zimbabwe since independence to \$158 million.

One loan--worth \$47 million--would go to the financing of the construction of 216 km of road while the remainder (\$31 million) was a line of credit to the Agricultural Finance Corporation.

They were both approved on August 26 during a five-day meeting of the banking group's board of directors.

The \$47 million loan has an interest rate of 9,86 percent and a repayment period of 20 years which included a grace period of five years, said Mr Ogunjobi.

The line of credit to the AFC was repayable over 15 years at an interest rate of 10 percent and a grace period of three years.

The 216 km of road includes a 52,6 km two-lane bitumen surfaced road from Gwanda to Guyu and a 42 km two-lane road--also tarred--linking Mvuma to the Gweru Road.

An 82 km stretch of tarred road to link Kwekwe to the Gweru Road and another 39 km road--also tarred and two-lane--to join Seke and Zvipadze would also be constructed.

The bank would also pay for all consulting services such as supervision, the preparation of tender documents for the Gwanda-Tuli Road from Guyu and engineering design.



Mr Ogunjobi said the AFC line of credit would make available medium and short-term loans to communal farmers, resettlement schemes and small-scale commercial farmers.

"This," he said, "is a reflection of our confidence in this country and its economy."

The AFC loan is the first the bank has made to the corporation and he said: "This is also one of our ways of assisting the Government to achieve its objectives of food self-sufficiency."

Mr Ogunjobi, who came back to Harare at the weekend after two weeks at ADB's Abidjan head office, also attended the installation of the banking group's sixth president, Mr Babacar N'diaye.

Mr N'diaye, from Senegal, was ADB's vice-president (finance). He succeeds Mr Wila Mung'omba, a Zambian.

CSO: 3400/15

ZIMBABWE

# ACCORD WITH ZAMBIA TERMINATES SALE OF POWER BY CAPCO

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The Central African Power Corporation stop operation as a commercial undertaking in Zimbabwe and will be renamed the Zambezi Water Authority following an agreement signed between Zambia and Zimbabwe last week.

Addressing a Press conference in Harare yesterday, the Minister of Energy, Water Resources and Development, Cde Kumbirai Kangai, said Capco would now only maintain and service loans for Kariba.

"In the past Capco used to sell electricity to the municipalities of Harare and Bulawayo, but now it will confine itself to the maintenance of Kariba Dam."

The Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority would be responsible for the supply of power in Zimbabwe.

Capco ceased operating as a commercial undertaking in Zambia in 1977 and "we feel it is logical that it also ceases to operate commercially in Zimbabwe."

Cde Kangai said the meeting, which ended on Friday, also agreed that projects undertaken by Capco would continue to be funded until they were completed.

The northern bank of the Zambezi would eventually become 100 percent Zambian property and the hydro-electric scheme on the southern bank would fall under Zimbabwe.

Cde Kangai said the four units at the Hwange Thermal Power Station would be working by March next year and this would help reduce the electricity import bill.

Zimbabwe was also undertaking a massive, multi-million dollar power generation programme south of Kariba which would be completed by 1992.

"My ministry is also examining small-scale projects inside Zimbabwe with a view to providing power to between 50 and 100 families in several areas," Cde Kangai said.

CSO: 3400/14

ZIMBABWE

PEOPLE URGED TO READ MORE SOCIALIST BOOKS

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE 16 Sep 85 p 7

[Text] HARARE--The Government would like more Zimbabweans to read the radical literature produced in socialist countries and in the rest of Africa, the Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira said last week.

In an interview with Novosti in Moscow, Cde Shamuyarira welcomed the steps being taken by Soviet organisations to make more literature available in English in Zimbabwe and to translate some works by Lenin and Marx into Shona and Ndebele.

Books from Zimbabwe featured prominently at the Moscow international book fair which gathered 3000 publishing and book-trading firms from 102 countries, as well as 15 international organisations.

Cde Paul Brickhill, of Grassroots Books (Pvt) Ltd, who manned the Zimbabwean stand, says he is satisfied with the response the Zimbabwean publications have met so far.

Cde Brickhill said the prime aim of the Zimbabwean stand is to acquaint publishers and potential readers from other countries with Zimbabwean publications, as well as to draw on the experience of other publishing houses and trade companies.--Own Corr-APN.

CSO: 3400/8

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

93 DEFECT TO ZANU (PF) IN GWERU--Ninety-three members of minority parties have defected to join ZANU (PF) in Gweru. Welcoming the new members at a rally held at Mkoba Secondary School on Sunday, the Zanu (PF) provincial political commissar for the Midlands and Member of Parliament for Gweru Rural, Cde Earnest Tongogara, said minority party members should not be harassed to join the ruling party. They should instead be persuaded it was in their interest to join Zanu (PF) because they did not have representation on local authorities in the province nor in Parliament. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Sep 85 p 3]

END